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VOL. 11 NO. 4 JULY/AUGUST 2003

DANIELE GALLIANO, "BLUES"

I will not forgive
I will not forget

What is being passed from generation to generation? Great pride and closeness? Teaching, upbringing, stories and skills? A little of those, maybe. People are beset by proliferating, intensifying problems, and understandably have forgotten how to live. The overriding concern is money and each person having a whole separate set of material things to buy and consume. The US family is leading nowhere. People are lost and alienated, compared to almost any other nation.

– Jan Lundberg

When I was a kid, things seemed simple. Life was fair, love promised to last forever, and right and wrong were as easy to tell apart as chocolate and vanilla. Values were basic but effective. Be kind. Treat others as you would want to be treated. The key rule was to share. To give to those who had not because it was . . . well . . . the right thing to do. Listen. Help. Share.

Like all human children, I learned these lessons by watching and then attempting to mimic the actions of those around me. It might be from this early period that artistic trends develop. We copy to learn but then begin to create in order to express our findings. Our mimicking may seem unoriginal but our interpretations are made up by us and us alone.

It wasn't that I woke up one day and the motto of my life had been altered. It was a gradual process, one that kept me up at night. Sharing was being replaced by taking. Having was better than giving. Why would you give anyone else the upper hand? Hey man, don't you get it?

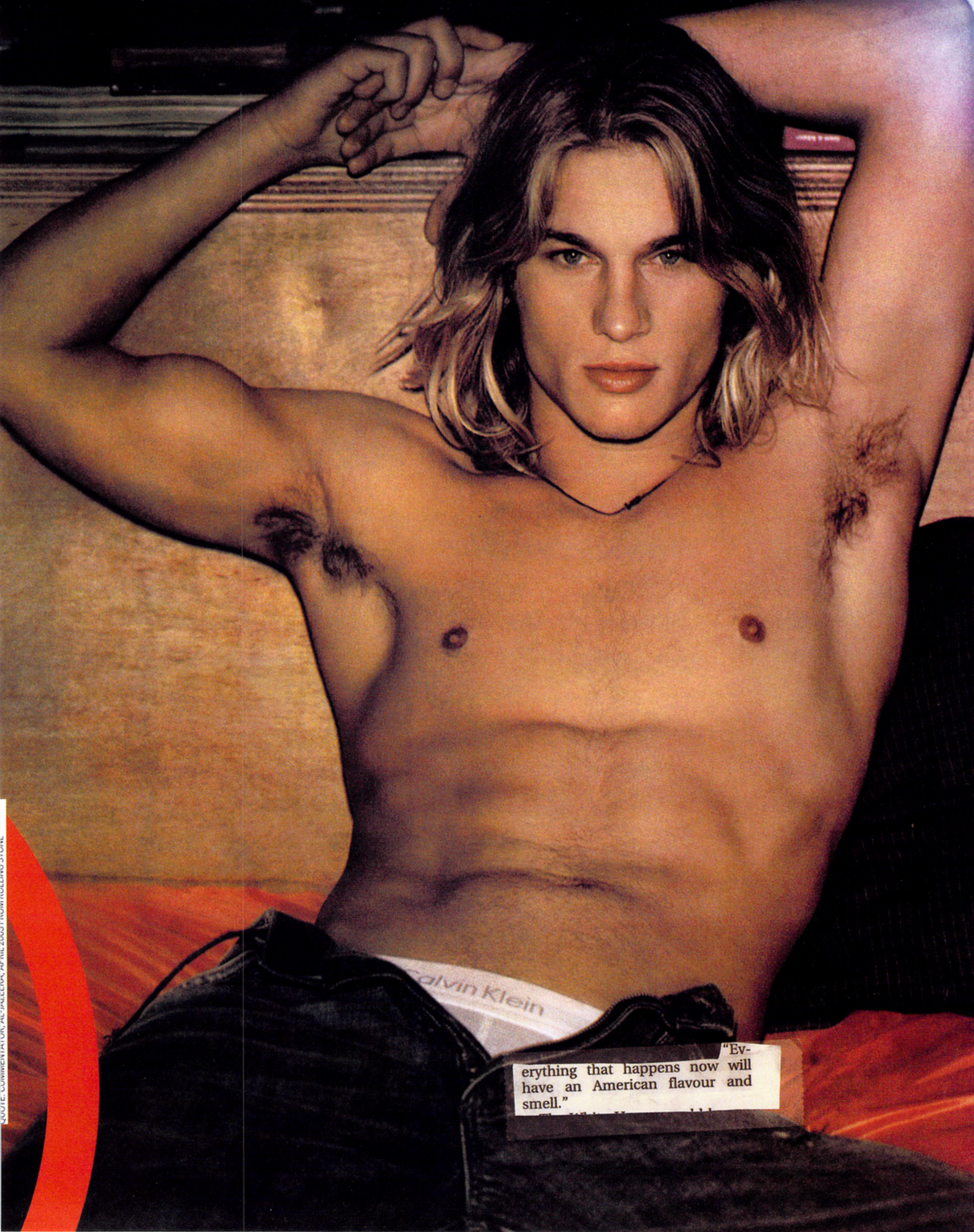
With our fading ability to understand and share with others, we became scared and hateful of our neighbors. We didn't need them to fulfill ourselves; we could do that alone. Having wasn't enough anymore – we needed more degrees of separation. More rungs on the ladder of humanity. I don't know you and I don't want to.

How did this happen? What caused the switch? If we're expected to function as wolves, why raise us as sheep? Why spend the formative years equipping the young with skills and values that will only make them targets in the adult world? The nice guy, remember, is supposed to have finished last.

Is all this intentional? Is the big letdown one of life's necessary lessons? Why do we have to destroy trust itself in order to learn that not everything can be trusted? If our upbringing is to serve us for our entire lives, then I cannot believe our parents and elders would equip us to fail.

What if they raised us with the hope that we would succeed where they have not? Maybe their greatest wish is that we solve the problems they dealt with and helped to create. I guess what it comes down to is this: change and advancement will only occur if we embrace that which we've forgotten. If we are taught to give, care and love when we are young, it is because we are able to understand those concepts better as more emotional beings. Reason and logic are the sprites of the mind. Sharing belongs to the heart.

Hope it helps someone with something.
Byron Laviolette



"Everything that happens now will have an American flavour and smell."

QUOTE: COMMENTATION, ALJAZEERA, APRIL 2003 FROM ROLLING STONE

We have become a Nazi monster in the eyes of the whole world —a nation of bullies and bastards who would rather kill than live peacefully. We are not just Whores for power and oil, but killer whores with hate and fear in our hearts. We are human scum, and that is how history will judge us . . . . No redeeming social value. Just whores. Get out of our way, or we'll kill you.

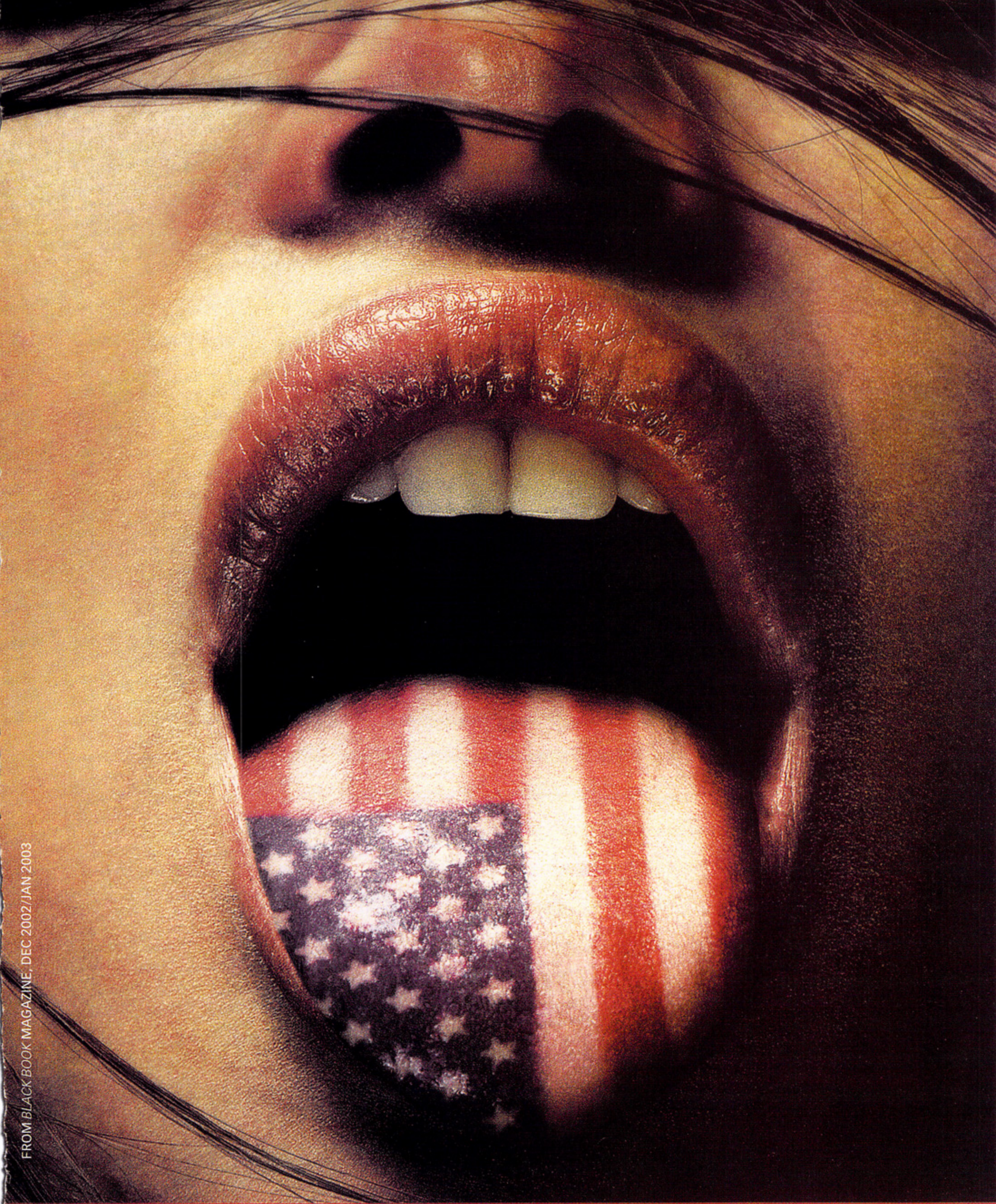
Who *does* vote for these dishonest shitheads? Who among us can be happy and proud of having all this innocent blood on our hands? Who are these swine? These flag-sucking half-wits who get fleeced and fooled by stupid little rich kids like George Bush?

They are same ones who wanted to have Muhammad Ali locked up for refusing to kill gooks. They speak for all that is cruel and stupid and vicious in the American character. They are the racists and hate mongers among us--they are the Ku Klux Klan. I piss down the throats of these Nazis.

And I am too old to worry about whether they like it or not. Fuck them.

—Hunter S. Thompson.

>
> I talked with an Amish friend of mine the other day about the state of this disunion.
> He just sat on the porch whittling his oak branch until I was finished, then said tersely:
> "You English eat too much and don't do anything between meals." That's all he said.
>
> Joshua



FROM *BLACK BOOK* MAGAZINE, DEC 2002/JAN 2003

be sacred. It takes more than a display of pride to protect those rights. It takes action. **LOG ON: ACLU.ORG**

PHOTO ILLUSTRATION SUBMITTED BY EMAIL

Growing up in Western Germany in the 1970s and '80s, I was taught to understand my country's history and to never forget our past. The Nazi regime was so successful because the general population in Germany trusted its own regime too much.

Now the US population has become too comfortable with the idea that its government will do what's right for "the people." The administration (and many citizens) might think of themselves as the great "liberators," fighting against the "evil empire." On the other hand, they may have already joined the "dark side."

CORNELIUS BRUDI
Seattle, Washington

I look at America now and I am reminded of growing up in apartheid South Africa. I remember the fear of "them," the way we were all schooled in terror of the "red danger" and the "black danger," and that despite the fact that the whole world was against us, we blithely, blindly continued believing that somehow what we were doing was right. Anyone who questioned this set of absurd assumptions was an instant outcast, a danger to the rest, a chink in the lies that kept us on a path that almost destroyed the country. What really struck me was that when everything changed, overnight, the same people who defended apartheid blindly became Nelson Mandela-huggers. That was when I realized that for most people, the closest thing they have to principles is what is sold to them via television advertising.

NICOLE TURNER
Johannesburg, South Africa

I used to live in Joburg, South Africa ["Fear," *Adbusters #46*], and then I moved to a first-world country. I love it here. You know why? The concrete walls are *soooo* much higher, the razor wire is way more effective and, best of all, those ugly signs of security that you see in Joburg are completely invisible. Instead, the security is neatly packaged in vast government bureaucracies with three-letter acronyms that have the power to detain "them" without trial. What's really beautiful about the system is that people who grew up in secure first-world environments are completely unaware of how hard the government agencies work to keep "them" out. You have to be on the outside trying to get in to appreciate the system; you have to jump through all the legal hoops to get in to know. Ignorance is truly bliss.

DOM DONKIE
By email

Imagine a picture of burned corpses, victims that would confront us with the horror of war and destabilize the clinical and antiseptic image that the media tries to sell us. The heading would be in bold letters: "Freedom Fries."

ANDRES VALLEJO
Ecuador

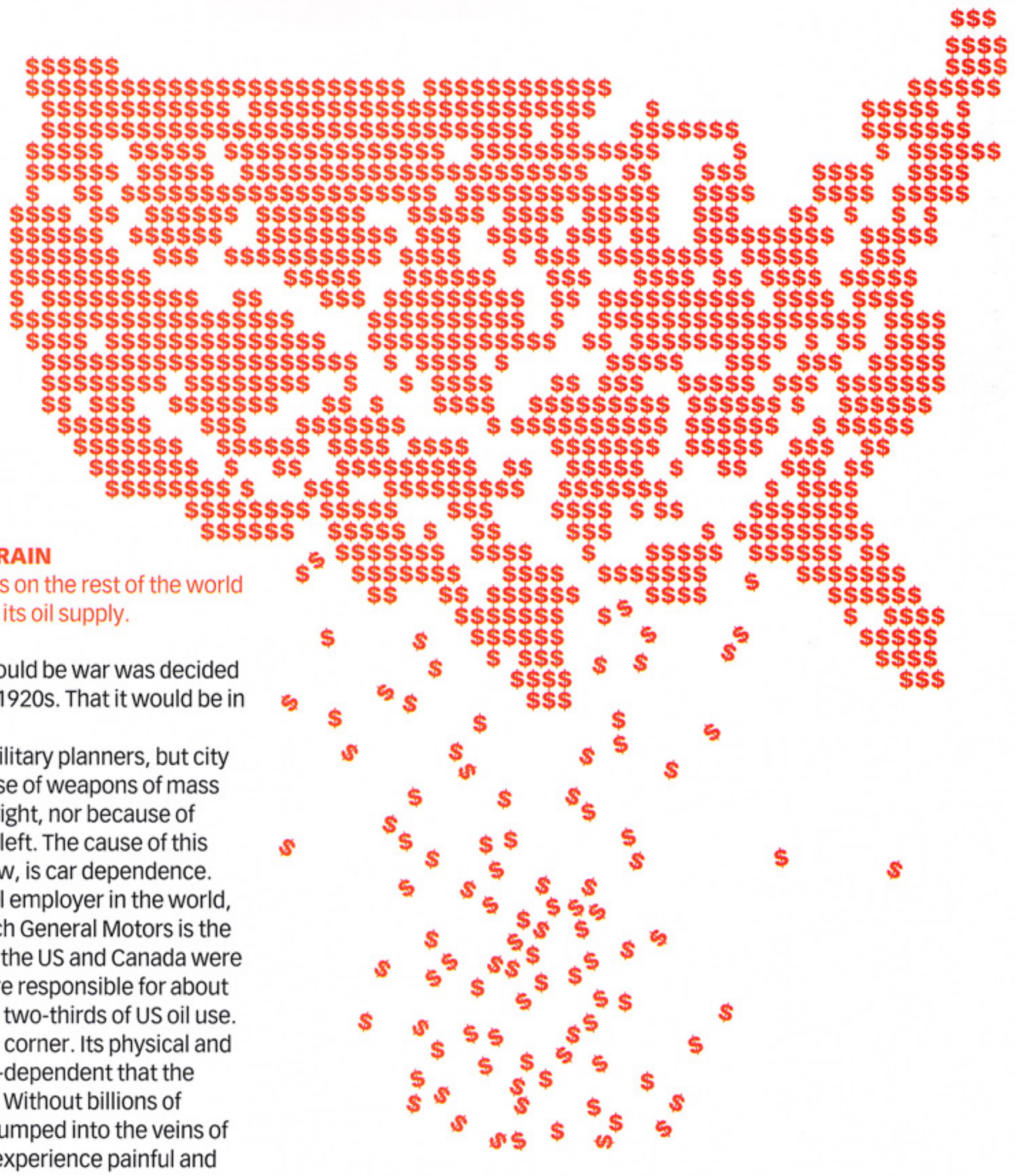
The backlash you received for your Boycott Brand America [www.adbusters.org] campaign was one of the most frightening displays of homophobia and ignorance I have ever witnessed. My faith in the pending apocalypse only increases with every nut-ball who feels that "shut up you fucking faggot" is a good criticism of an antiwar stance.

ALAIN MERCIECA
By email

I would like the world to go on with the boycott of America, because the US wants to rule the world. They do not want to sign up to the International Court in the Hague; they do not want to sign up for the Kyoto Accord; they do not want to stop nuclear weapons or the use of cluster bombs against civilians. They want the whole world to listen to them, but we want to be free countries and free people. I boycott Mars chocolate, Colgate toothpaste, Coca-Cola and Fanta, Kodak, Duracell batteries. And I'll boycott every other American product that I might eventually use.

M. BLOEM
Zoetermeer, The Netherlands

The conventional political solutions being proposed by the US peace movement are not worthy of serious consideration anymore. The idealism of the 1960s is



THE DOLLAR DRAIN
America depends on the rest of the world for 60 percent of its oil supply.

War in Iraq was inevitable. That there would be war was decided by North American planners in the mid-1920s. That it would be in Iraq was decided more recently.

The architects of this war were not military planners, but city planners. War was inevitable not because of weapons of mass destruction, as claimed by the political right, nor because of Western imperialism, as claimed by the left. The cause of this war, and probably the one that will follow, is car dependence.

Car-making is now the main industrial employer in the world, dominated by five major groups, of which General Motors is the largest. The livelihood and landscape of the US and Canada were forged by car-makers. Motor vehicles are responsible for about one-third of global oil use, but for nearly two-thirds of US oil use. The United States has paved itself into a corner. Its physical and economic infrastructure is so highly car-dependent that the country is pathologically addicted to oil. Without billions of barrels of precious black sludge being pumped into the veins of the economy every year, the US would experience painful and damaging withdrawal . . .

– Ian Roberts, Professor of Public Health, London School of Economics

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dead, and its legacy is irrelevant and largely commodified. The hippies, the counterculture – these people who naively imagined a better world – they quit, sold out, moved to the suburbs, voted for Reagan and bought Volvos. It was a revolting affirmation of materialism, of emptiness, and we're left in the wasteland. Our entire civilization is moribund, and this reality – recognized elsewhere – is becoming increasingly obvious. Times are getting desperate now.

BRETT CAROLLO
By email

Where is my deck of cards? Is Rummy the Queen of Hearts? Is Pat Robertson the two of clubs? Please, please put it together and sell it to me and other gleeful customers.

PHILIP K. HOOKER
By email

OK – Eds.

DONALD RUMSFELD
Secretary of Defense

IT ONLY LOOKS LIKE THIS BECAUSE IT'S BADASS.
HUMMER
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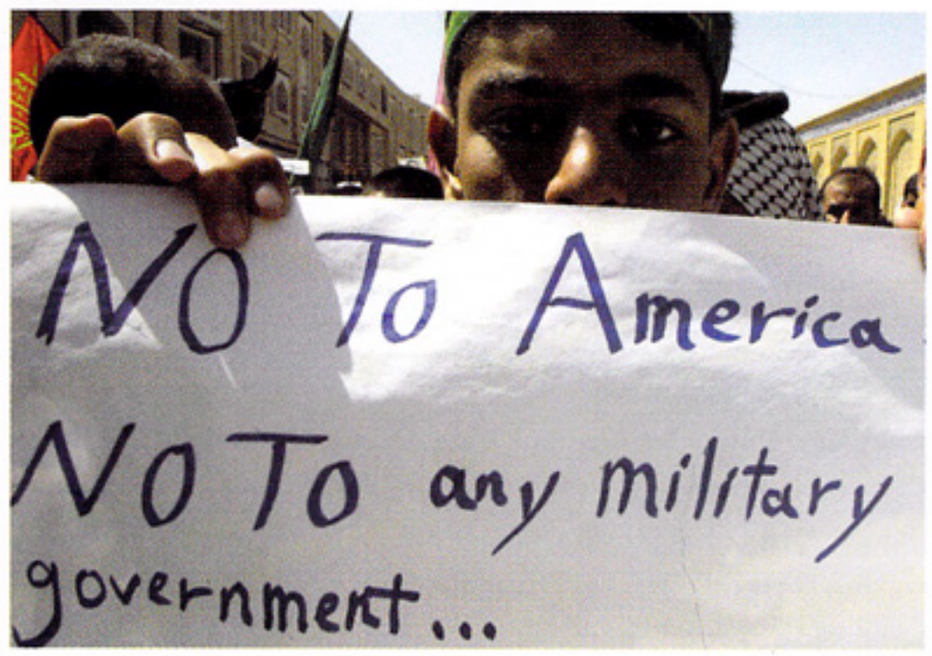
FROM MEN'S JOURNAL

Americans seem to want blind obedience: they want a bunch of yes-countries who will handle them with care, like a delicate peach. Now the war is over and Germany has been relegated to the second league in Europe. "New Europe" rules: imagine a new world order in which Poland receives American commands and whispers them into German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder's ear. Bush still acts like the kindergarten bully – he doesn't want to talk with Schröder, the wartime party-pooper. But since German business can't survive without strong US relations, Schröder will have to work on his peach-handling skills.

Reiner Gärtner, Germany



AFP PHOTO / KARIM SAHIB

A Palestinian in Hebron stopped me to say that the US was responsible for all the problems in the world, especially the Israeli occupation of Palestine. He talked about how arrogant Bush was and how Bush only wanted war because it would make him money.
He pointed out that the Americans have all the power and do what they like because no one can stop them. He finally stopped, and in a serious voice asked me, "So how can you help me get to America?" When I told him I couldn't, he lost interest in me.

Greg Rollins, West Bank

Weeks after the war ended, the guys working at my corner newspaper kiosk in Mexico City taped up a sign that, in red marker, declared, "*No queremos tus dólares manchados de sangre*" – "We don't want your blood-stained dollars." It's your government, not you, they told me.

The kiosk workers join other Mexicans – including Carlos Fuentes, the country's most revered writer, who recently called the US ambassador to Mexico an "idiot" – in expressing their disgust with the Bush camp. The word "disillusioned" comes up a lot. Mexico's president, Vicente Fox (who before Iraq was tagged as Bush's puppet) won big points by not backing the US. He risked souring Mexico's crucial trade ties to the north. But few believed that, in the end, the US would really go through with punishing Mexico – what could it gain from crushing a neighbor that provides rich US companies with cheap labor on both sides of the border? And even if Fox had supported the US, hints were few that Washington would have, in return, reworked the NAFTA free trade agreement to benefit Mexican farmers or struck a migration accord. No, despite Bush's victory laps, there is not much soul-searching here about whether or not Mexico did the right thing.

Monica Campbell, Mexico

Here in Alberta – the Texas of Canada – public opinion is generally in favor of Bush. In Calgary there were pro-American rallies to show that we were solidly behind the Iraq war, even if our troops weren't there. People carried American flags and denounced the cowardice of the Canadian government.

Then Paul Cellucci, the American ambassador to Canada, scolded our country for not joining the "coalition of the willing." He hinted that there might be a price to pay. And you know what? People are sick of it. Right or wrong, Canadians are tired of always worrying about what the Americans think. We're tired of trading our sovereignty for their investment dollars.

Cameron Hutz, Canada

RUPERT MURDOCH
Chairman and CEO
News Corp.

SHIITE MUSLIM SCHOOLCHILD IN KARBALA, IRAQ, APRIL 23, 2003

"Visit America before America visits you." This slogan was first circulated via SMS messaging, and from the response it has received, it would be safe to say that many of us are taking the "new world order" with an ache of sobriety and a pinch of salt. The public has returned to business as usual, choosing to focus on the daily routine rather than follow the news on TV. Whatever the reason, it seems people would rather talk about America in a passing comment that is laughable and general rather than get down to the serious subjects that would only reinforce the sense of anger, frustration and insult that people voiced any time the word "America" was mentioned in the past weeks. America is no longer a threatening country, but rather a playground bully that has just about outdone himself: everyone knows he is big, but no one can really be bothered to get scared.

Maia Malas, Jordan

PHOTO: FAISAL MAHMOOD/REUTERS

There is probably no better place to judge the mood of the country than in a local pub. That may have been at least part of the plan as I commenced interaction with a pint of Tennent's at the local yesterday. Before long I was engaged in discussing politics with Ian, an older, gray-haired regular.

"If it was about weapons of mass destruction," he thundered, "then where are they! If it wasn't about oil, why are the refineries the only secure places in the country?" If it was about democracy, when does the voting start? If Blair isn't kissing up to Bush, when will he demand that British citizens held in Guantánamo Bay be accorded their rights under the Geneva Conventions?

Clayton Trapp, England

I talked to a fruit vendor in Islamabad, the capital city of Pakistan. If it were not for United Nations weapons inspectors' reports that Iraq had no weapons of mass destruction, he explained, the American-led forces would never have attacked the Arab state. "They attacked an unarmed country. This is not gallantry but cowardice," he said, clenching his fist.

The war on Iraq has given new expression to anti-Americanism in the country, broadening its scope from mere political rhetoric to action. There is an increasing realization that the American corporate base is the only way to influence the US strategy of geo-strategic expansionism. Across the ideological divides, there are calls for boycotts of American goods and services. The Islamic parties are particularly targeting Pepsi and Coca-Cola, while civil society groups are picketing American food franchises like McDonald's, KFC and Pizza Hut. "Don't spend your money in KFC, as a part of it would go to funding the American war machine," says an activist who has been picketing a KFC in Islamabad for over a month. "I am sure you wouldn't want your money to be used in the killing of innocent people." Each time he and his comrades convince a customer to turn away, they celebrate their victory.

Muddassir Rizvi, Pakistan

We have two kinds of taxi cabs in Iran. One kind you call and they come and take you to your destination. The other kind functions like a mini-bus; they move in more or less fixed routes, and you hop in and take off as you wish. Five people plus the driver in a car: an excellent time to pass on information and express yourself. You hear a lot of profanity against the statesmen of Iran as well as Islam itself!

The taxi cab conversations reliably capture the mood of the Iranian urban middle class. The fall of Saddam and the American occupation of Iran's western neighbor have created a sense of anticipation. The possibility of a national referendum to determine the future political system now seems remote. The United States' military proximity has filled Iranian youth with a sense of hope, which they express in the now-famous saying, "The expiry date of dictators has come." The average Iranian has no illusions about the imperialist nature of the US, but Iranians see Americans as the lesser evil compared to their own theocratic dictators. Iranians speak of the 1941 occupation of Iran by the Allies – Americans included – which ended the brutal dictatorship of Reza Shah, leading to a 12-year period of liberty and nationalist movement. Ironically, that period ended in the CIA-engineered coup that returned the country to dictatorship. And that is the part most Iranians don't seem to want to talk about.

Peyman Vahabzadeh (in exile)

AFP PHOTO/RAINER JENSEN

HANOVER, GERMANY, APRIL 2003 (ABOVE); KASHMIRI MAN IN MUZAFFARABAD, PAKISTAN, APRIL 2003 (TOP)

My mother in Turkey tells me how clean the streets must be "there" when she complains about the sub-par garbage collection "here." My friends ask me about super-fast cars, orderly cities and handsome people. Such deep respect for American power. The second Gulf War, however, brought to the fore ambivalent feelings so strong that the government felt compelled to consider them in policy-making. It is remarkable that both the government and the people perceived the occupation of Iraq as unjust, considering that in many countries popular and political will seemed to clash. Yet the anti-war feelings did not simply emerge out of solidarity with fellow Muslims or even a categorical rejection of war. The sentiments are rooted in a sense of shared inequality within the global economy, of understanding humiliation and powerlessness against a superior opponent. While for Americans a natural response to the war was to personalize an imagined Iraqi threat ("What if 'they' killed my children in a terrorist attack?"), for many in Turkey, the direct response was to put themselves in the shoes of the oppressed ("What if 'they' invaded my country and killed my family?"). Traditional support for the US is dwindling because people realize: the target could have been us.

Murat Ergin, University of Minnesota

The whole "war on terrorism" rings hollow among Indians as Americans continue to cooperate with Pakistan, a country which India blames for an overwhelming number of terrorist attacks on Indian soil and which is, in India's eyes, the largest state sponsor of terror. Some in India even suggest that by the logic of US foreign policy, India is more than justified in launching its own "preemptive" attack against Pakistan. Others note with a certain degree of self-satisfaction that in continuing to deal with cross-border terrorism through international channels, India is showing a respect for international law that the US did not.

Ron Piovesan, India

What does it feel like to be in a country that supports the US? You should have been here for the protests. Every night at 10 p.m. people all over the city walked onto their balcony or onto the streets and banged on casserole pots for a quarter of an hour. Every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday there were huge marches on the streets, cutting off the main road that crosses all of Barcelona. People camped in front of the US embassy, in front of all the main government offices and city squares. It has been intense.

It is only President Aznar and his party of sheep that support Bush. Elections are coming, and Aznar's pretty much out of the picture.

Fernanda Hannah-Suarez, Spain

Things are always subtler than the bluster heard on talk shows. I have known Michael for about 20 years. He is a delivery driver for a company in Johannesburg. Speaking about the USA one day, he told me that it was still his biggest dream to see America before he died. New York: it still holds all the allure of newly polished chrome for Michael. All the fuss, the furor, it's just news. Television.

I encountered a similar response while interviewing a young sex worker in Swaziland for a news article. While discussing the vagaries of her profession and the dangers of AIDS, I asked an incidental question about events in the US on September 11, 2001. "I didn't think anything," Pupu replied. "I didn't know America." Naive, maybe, but amply revealing. To the many in Africa, America remains an inscrutable monolith, a distant empire only half understood. Which is probably how many in the North think about Africa.

Sean O'Toole, South Africa

Europeans will never trust Bush again regardless of what happens.

Maria Bjorkander, Sweden

COLONEL SANDERS
Founder
Kentucky Fried Chicken

ONE DAY, HUMANKIND MAY ORGANIZE ITSELF INTO A TRUE body politic. Perhaps this will be some remote variation on the United Nations, whose hand now lies so lightly on the world; perhaps it will be some new organizational form. That day has not yet come. Even as an ideal, the structure of a global body politic remains uninvented.

Such a novel object is unlikely to take a familiar form. The need for global political structures to deal with the globalized economy and the swiftly deteriorating global environment is manifest. Yet it would be premature, for instance, to suppose that they should constitute a "world government" or a "world state." The words "state" and "government" carry too much unwanted baggage from the past. Why should an organization whose purpose and surrounding context would be so different from those of national governments repeat their structures? Nation-states, for example, have been in a condition of unceasing rivalry and conflict with one another and this condition has shaped basic elements of their anatomies. A global body politic, by contrast, would exist alone on Earth – a circumstance that must have the profoundest consequences for its character, if only because of the blood-chilling possibility that, if it were endowed with anything like the powers to which existing states are accustomed, it might become repressive, leaving no corner of the Earth free. There is a raw freedom in the plurality of states that the world should not surrender easily, or without the firmest confidence that a more civilized freedom can be defended and maintained.

In our new circumstances, the starting point of a world politics based in cooperative power would be not a blueprint for an ideal system of law but the reality that has already emerged on the ground. We can borrow a leaf from the Eastern Europeans. Rejecting a choice between accommodation and violent, all-or-nothing revolution, they decided upon the incremental pursuit of revolutionary ends by peaceful, reformist means. Acting on the basis of common principles yet without any blueprint – "in cooperation without unification," in the phrase of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu – they pooled the variegated forces of society to achieve a radical renewal of their lives that in the end accomplished everything that was necessary. A revolution against violence in the world at large today would develop, like open software, as the common creation of any and all comers, acting at every political level, within as well as outside government, on the basis of common principles.

The agenda of a program to build a cooperative world would be to choose and foster cooperative means at every level of political life. At the street level, this would mean choosing Gandhian satyagraha over violent insurrection – the sit-down or general strike over the suicide bombing or the attack on the local broadcasting station. At the level of the state it would mean choosing democracy over authoritarianism or totalitarianism; at the level of international affairs, it would mean choosing negotiation, treaties, and other agreements and institutions over war and, in general, choosing a cooperative, multilateral international system over an imperial one; at the level of biological survival, it would mean choosing nuclear disarmament over the balance of nuclear terror and proliferation. The choice at each level is never merely the rejection of violence; it is always at the same time the embrace of its cooperative equivalent.

Such a program of action, though lacking the explicit, technical coherence of a blueprint, would possess the inherent moral and practical coherence of any set of actions taken on the basis of common principles. History shows that violence incites more violence. Nonviolence is likewise synergistic and contagious. For just as there is a logic of force, there is a logic of peace – a "cycle of nonviolence." Just as the violent revolution paves the way for dictatorship, nonviolent revolution paves the way for democracy. Just as dictatorships incline towards war, democracies, if they can resist imperial temptations, incline towards peace with one another. Just as war is the natural environment for repression and dominance by the privileged few, peace is the natural environment for human rights and justice for the poor. Consider, for example, the ramifications of the peaceful rebellion against Soviet rule. It was met, as a violent revolution surely would not have been, with Gorbachev's nonviolent, reformist response, which led, however unintentionally, to the end of the Soviet regime, which in turn created the conditions for peace between the Cold War powers. And recall, by contrast, the outbreak of the First World War. It led to the rise of totalitarianism, which led to the Second World War, which led in turn to the advent of the Cold War and the species-threatening nuclear balance of terror. No one planned or could have foreseen these chains of consequences but they were as sure and real as anything anyone did plan.

A revolution against violence – loosely coordinated, multiform, flexible, based on common principles and a common goal rather than on a common blueprint – would encompass a multitude of specific plans, including ones for disarmament, conventional as well as nuclear; democratization and human rights; advancement of international law; reform of the United Nations; local and regional peacekeeping and peacemaking; and social and ecological programs that form the indispensable content of a program of nonviolent change. To neglect the last of these would be to neglect the lesson that campaigns of noncooperation are empty without constructive programs.

Peace begins, someone has said, when the hungry are fed. It is equally true that feeding the hungry begins when peace comes. Global warming cannot be stopped by B-52s any more than nuclear proliferation can; only cooperation can accomplish either task. Peace, social justice and defense of the environment are a cooperative triad to pit against the coercive, imperial triad of war, economic exploitation and environmental degradation. Lovers of freedom, lovers of social justice, disarmers, peacekeepers, civil disobeyers, democrats, civil-rights activists and defenders of the environment are legions in a single multiform cause, and they will gain strength by knowing it, taking encouragement from it, and, when appropriate and opportune, pooling their efforts.

Adapted with permission from The Unconquerable World *(Metropolitan Books, 2003), by Jonathan Schell.*

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FROM VANITY FAIR MAGAZINE
GIORGIO ARMANI

SEAMUS NICOLSON *JASON* 2000

AMERICAN CROSS

THE BOMBS ARE MUSHROOM FLASHES ON TV; THEIR EMERALD green light matches the Gap Capris I'm going to buy on Saturday after step-aerobics. I flip between the war and *Friends*, which is now in its final season. The children are playing Nintendo.

I like living here, obviously. Here in my kitchen, in my glowing, copper kitchen, I am not like the women who sob in documentaries, so melodramatic, so loud. I see women wailing for sons with shiny black hair – women ripping out their lungs because daughters have been raped and raped until they can only speak in ga-ga. If this were a soap opera, they could bring back the children as someone else – a fresh child with a new face and trendy rock-star hair.

I worry about the softness of toilet tissue and which heels go with which dress. Yesterday I made a Thai stir-fry.

I wish those women had a dining table like mine – shiny with furniture wax and sunflowers. There are no dust storms here. I like to mist apple and cinnamon spray into the air. My house smells like a pie.

I order terra-cotta pots from websites. I like to travel. I went to New Orleans once, when I was 21, and I walked among the voodoo dead. Tourists take cemetery tours; they ride behind mules and pay $18.95 to see angel statues.

I hated that place – those sweating bone beds with dripping Spanish moss.

It's difficult to travel without cards. Three forms of ID and safety-sealed suitcases are now required. I wonder what will happen to me if I lose my numbers. Do they assign a new name? Once I lost my credit card. I felt so naked and alone. They stole my identity. Thieves took my MasterCard and I was vulnerable. It was as if I had been violated.

They say evil exists out there, somewhere beyond the phone lines.

It kind of reminds me of the cowboy kid in *Willie Wonka's Chocolate Factory*. I loved it when he got zapped into fuzzy dots below the ceiling so that no one could get to him, not even his mother. There is a safety in formlessness, and that's where the shrieking women are. Buzzing among the pixels.

I change the channel so I can't see them huddled in breaking-news banners, their heads tented and gaunt. How suffocating to be so draped, like sad, dusty, ceramic Marys.

I huddle over my on-line checking account with a cup of chai tea. There is a sale on beach towels at Wal-Mart. Summer vacation is coming.

I am like the teeniest nesting doll beneath the holy host, like those I buy from import catalogues. Hidden in bold black-and-red kerchiefs inside one another in a shiny place of quiet – an opening of legs, and a closing. I collect them at Christmas, pull them apart at the midsection to pop open twinned, lacquered heads. They're shaped like old glass milk bottles.

I used to be afraid of giving up numbers, of not filing taxes, or not dialing the correct code when the time came; but now I am fine.

It is all good.

That's what the man on the TV says, or would if he were a frat boy, which he used to be. Now he looks like a father – a strong, wealthy lawyer-daddy who always wears pinstripes and matching silk socks. I admire his unwrinkled suit. I miss those days, those father-knows-best days.

Lately I don't know anything.

I feel this seed of ache. Half a thought. Actually, it's a cartoon bubble that pops up occasionally, only I can't see the words. They've been erased. I see the charcoal smudge. I want to click undo, get those letters back.

I keep repeating myself – retracing my words – pacing my steps. I feel like I should protest something, but what? What would that be?

I am not hungry.

I am not cold.

I am safe.

Protest what?

I feel as if I am pilled inside a bottle. I am weirdly sleepy – in that place before the alarm beeps. I see here that they are blowing trumpets and saluting. A soldier hands a folded flag to a weeping mother. I view her from above as if I have escaped my body. She does not scream. Of course not, she has a beautiful new table cloth with silken white stars.

She has earned her stripes.

Rebecca Noblit-Goodall

I work as a waiter in one of those trendy little steakhouses. I've been doing this for over 10 years now and, believe me, I truly believe if you want to know the depth and scope of Americans, you should be on the other side of the table.

Sometimes I wait on pharmaceutical parties. The doctors and their secretaries, wives or mistresses get to feast on these expensive dinners, while some speaker gives a lecture about their latest product – usually some mood-altering or erectile-dysfunction pill. I've learned that where there is no problem, these little technicians will create one. Their goal is to put everyone on pills and let the profits roll in. I've even seen those reps give these doctors $200 checks just for showing up. Is this even legal?

Name withheld by request

America is really beginning to frighten me. I see my peers who aren't "performing" being put on Ritalin and being drowned in rewards. I told my therapist how I was feeling once and she just wanted to put me on antidepressants. I said, "But I know why I feel this way – I mean, it is this place." I can't help but think of *Brave New World* every time some drugged friend tells me they don't care, that they're not into politics, that they just want to watch *Friends* and laugh and have wild sex and listen to classic rock and do drugs and rally behind war, a real American.

TRENT BRADLEY
Woodberry Forest, Virginia

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SCANNABAR
001113990

FROM *BAR & BEVERAGE BUSINESS*, JAN/FEB 2003

Everyone who's anyone in my school is depressed now. People brag about how many antidepressant pills they're taking. Like I should be impressed? A little while ago this girl I know jumped off her one-story garage in a "suicide attempt." And guess what, she didn't get hurt at all. But that doesn't stop her from bragging about it to her friends.

Adbusters #47 got me thinking about all my friends who are taking Zoloft and such for depression – and how amazingly stupid I think the whole thing is.

ALIENEATTER
By email

Three years ago I took a trip to Portugal. I was 18, and I went alone. Let me tell you, it was the shock of my life. It was at that point that I realized I wasn't as free in this country as I had always thought I was. In Portugal, I had my jaw on the floor in awe of what real freedom is, and what it is like not to be bombarded day in and day out with mainstream media. Dogs roamed free in the streets, the television only played great foreign movies, the news and football games; kids my age weren't saturated in Nike and Gap, and they sure in hell weren't bloated from McDonald's. Instead, what a great pleasure to see every clothing store and restaurant was a family business and unique in its own way. I would turn on the radio only to hear real classic songs, local musicians and world music that allowed me to stretch beyond manufactured teenybop pop.

My usual deep-fried, frozen, artificially flavored dinners were replaced with fresh fish, soups, vegetables straight from the garden. I ate some of the best food I have ever tasted in my life and yet I lost 30 pounds during my three-month stay. Best of all, I had no routine. I wasn't working. I wasn't constantly obsessed with money. As Christmas approached, I was so shocked at the lack of frenzy. I had a lump sum of 20 dollars to spend on my Christmas shopping; I never thought it was enough until I realized how much more I appreciated a single dollar instead of yearning for hundreds more. Small gifts meant more to me; even having money to go for a coffee was a great pleasure. My god, I even went three months without putting blonde streaks in my hair. I wore less makeup, wore the clothes that kept me warm. I felt more beautiful than ever.

Now here I am, in a great depression while carelessly spending my paychecks on useless material things that will bring me artificial happiness. But what I really long for is to be in a place where I don't represent a dollar sign, where I am not just a consumer, and where the great dream is not to have a million dollars to buy even more worthless shit.

When I stepped away from it all, that was freedom. But I've realized I can step away from it mentally without having to move to another country. I try my best to make conscious decisions about the food I eat, the clothes I buy, where I get my information. I ride my bike or walk, and I turn off the TV. I'm not saying this makes me a better person, only a happy one, with the freedom to choose.

SARAH AMARAL
Vancouver, Canada

Joint Checking

CARLEY HODGKINSON, BASED ON AN ILLUSTRATION BY ROBERT VAN NUTT

Is the US fit to run the World?

+	—
dynamic can-do attitude	rude
	obese
likes to party	self involved
...SEXY...	gun fetish
has the cash	too damn aggressive
Big in Japan	KEEPS TWO MILLION PEOPLE IN PRISON
still idealistic	
still has potential	Cannot find IRAQ on map!
Still Wild!	

IMAGINE AMERICA WAS A PERSON VISITING MY CONSULTING room. What would be my diagnosis? Would gentlemanly Uncle Sam emerge as a mentally healthy custodian of our present and future well-being?

Of course not. America's very desire to control us, directly or indirectly, is a symptom of pathology. So come on, doc, precisely which kind of sicko is America?

You might plump for depressed (isolationist), psychopathic (lack of empathy) or even psychotic (barking mad – what P.G. Wodehouse referred to as "thinking you're a poached egg"). But I would carefully spell out Borderline Personality Disorder. All of us know someone like this. They have a weak identity (America is still a young nation, made up of immigrants) because they were badly deprived of love in early infancy and beyond. This makes the Borderline tremendously insecure.

A pervasive instability and ambivalence pervades the Borderline's stream of minute-to-minute experience (hysterical switches from love to hate; French Fries become Freedom Fries). Emotionally erratic, capricious, impulsive and often explosive (think American TV), they make for very awkward, manipulative companions (their friends tend to be people-pleasing opportunists). Relatives and acquaintances (Canada, France, Russia) are put on edge by the Borderline's sullen displays, hurt looks and obstinate nastiness. In time, they start to reject them.

While Borderlines can be super-rational and hyper-realistic at times, especially if they are high achievers, they also have puzzlingly fantastical beliefs, often reminiscent of the Dark Ages (half of Americans agree with the statement that "the Bible is the actual word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word"; the same proportion believe that Iraq was partly responsible for 9/11, despite a total absence of evidence). Angered by the failure of others to care for them, Borderline personalities use mood swings and threats to "get back" and "teach a lesson." By exaggerating their victimhood (endless commemorations and mawkish memorials of 9/11 and wartime heroes), Borderlines also avoid responsibility for their actions (others can clean up the mess in Afghanistan).

Easily nettled, offended by trifles, they are readily provoked to contrariness if things do not go their way. If others consider them obstructive, pessimistic and immature (America despises criticism, particularly from outsiders), they deal with it by believing the accusations are "really" a reflection of their greater sensitivity or some other special attribute. This is nothing more than a narcissistic distortion. Borderlines are also prone to paranoia, often believing they are being persecuted by malign forces. They suffer massive rushes of aggression towards others, and are quick to assume they are being attacked. (Having tried every other excuse for invading Iraq, America finally double-thought the ultimate justification: "preventive self-defense.")

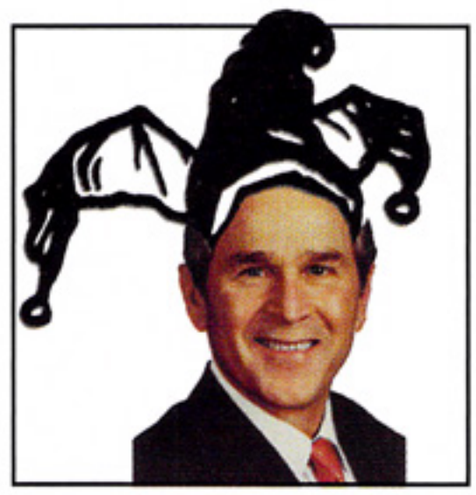
Not surprisingly, sustaining stable personal relationships is tricky for this type of personality. A study comparing Borderline with non-Borderline women found the Borderlines to be filled with self-deceit. They had greater dissatisfaction and depression about their sex lives, yet thought of themselves as highly desirable. They tended to attribute their lack of popularity to others' envy. Intimate contact leaves Borderlines feeling battered because their omnipotent (shock and awe) and narcissistic (the world's greatest democracy) fantasies are constantly banging against the ceiling of reality. It also leaves them feeling drained and depleted, increasing their loneliness, dependence on others and need for company. Seeking contact, they set off on the cycle again, swinging wildly from defensive isolationism to dedicated reconnection with the world.

The end result, of course, is a bottomless feeling of emptiness, which Borderlines are likely to fill with manic, frantic addiction. (Compensatory obesity, anorexia and other eating disorders are epidemic in America. So is addiction – to shopping or to money-making as much as to drugs of solace.)

Only someone equally disturbed (e.g., the prime ministers of Britain and Australia) could possibly be happy to have America in charge of the world. What the rest of the world sees is a figure in need of treatment, fast. The good news is, Borderline Personality Disorder can indeed be corrected through psychoanalysis. The bad news is the patient just set fire to the couch.

Oliver James is a clinical psychologist and author of They F**k You Up *(Bloomsbury, 2002) and* Britain on the Couch *(Arrow, 1998).*

JOKER



GEORGE W. BUSH
President of the
United States of America

JOKER

Q. *Why did you decide to bring the word "fascism" into the debate about American empire?*
I felt there was a new global political development that needed to be named, and I began thinking in the context of what I call "global fascism," which is something different from the traditional forms of fascism that have existed. The effect of that was to suggest that resistance to this new global development in the United States poses a second kind of danger that is more in keeping with traditional understandings of fascism.

Q. *Can you tell us your definition of traditional fascism?*
Yes: the convergence of military and economic power on behalf of an ultranationalist ideology that views its enemies – internally and externally – as evil and subject to extermination or extreme punishment.

Q. *Is the US the only player?*
No, it's not the only player, though it's certainly the dominant player. It's setting the rules for the other players. You've noticed in recent days that there's been a kind of reward given to those that lined up behind the war against Iraq – visits to the White House honoring and giving prestige to these countries in Eastern Europe, and to Spain and Australia, and the marked avoidance of the countries that didn't cooperate. It's a kind of geopolitical disciplining, an attempt to impose costs and benefits for following this path of global regulation and order.

Q. *What should we be looking for as an early warning of a slide toward fascism?*
A disillusionment with representative democracy as a path to change. For example,

PHOTO: KURT STRAZDINS / KRT

SPRING BREAK IN AMERICA, 2002

if the Democratic Party in the United States doesn't elect a candidate who will challenge these policies, I think it would lead an increasing number of people to become disenchanted with normal politics and be more inclined to feel that the only way change can come about is by more extreme political tactics, which in turn would lead the government to feel justified in expanding its powers of control over the citizenry.

Q. *What relationship do you see between the economic globalization of the past decade and this emerging possibility of global fascism?*
Well, I think there is some linkage between the two. Economic globalization did create this sense of an integrated global order, and that this degree of integration could be achieved by economic means. What has changed – partly through the change in leadership in the United States, and accelerated by the response to September 11 – is that the trend towards integration and control has been decisively militarized and ideologized.

Q. *In some respects, the new militarization seems to be a reaction* against *globalization.*
That was always part of the debate – how multilateral globalization was. Part of the debate was also whether the nation-states – including the most powerful countries – were themselves losing their freedom to maneuver to these market forces, and that the source of power was more in the world economic forum and in the financial markets than in the capital cities of the nation-states. Now there's a new ascendency of the security agenda, which means that the state has revived its control over politics.

Q. *Is the language being used by the current American leadership consistent with historical fascism? In many ways, the language is very careful. No one today has the bluntness of a Hitler or a Mussolini.*
I think the discourse of terrorism is very much the kind of language that seeks to validate extreme forms of violence and a war mentality, and it is reinforced by this ultranational sentiment. The language has shifted in Orwellian directions, where the search for peace becomes perpetual war. At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that if this fascist threat exists, it exists in a distinctive form both in the United States and in the world, and that it is conditioned by the American political culture – which is resistant to the language of fascism. Certainly the people who are the architects of these policies would reject my analysis, and probably sincerely so. They think they're doing something else: it will all be done in the name of democratization. It's a very deceptive and confusing style of political domination, because it pretends to be the opposite of what it is.

There is an ambiguity, because this is a concealed fascism that is occurring within the framework of a constitutional democracy. There is still at least the formal possibility that change can come about through the normal forms of political opposition. It doesn't seem likely at the moment, but it can't be ruled out. My whole argument is in a sense a preventive one, because I'm not suggesting that this kind of fascism currently exists, only that the trends and the policies suggest the importance of preventing it from existing.

Q. *Do you consider what you're seeing to be a less frightening form of fascism than we've seen in the past 100 years?*
Well, it's hard to compare. For instance, Spanish-Franco and Portuguese-Salazar forms of fascism were less terrifying in their effects than Nazism. Today, the special concern is associated partly with the stakes being raised much higher by the weapons of mass destruction. The technology of violence has become much worse, so that if this form of fascism was to result in a major confrontation, it could lead to worse forms of warfare than were experienced in the 20th century. The other concern is that it is global in scope, which has never existed before, and which one needs to understand was a part of the structure prior to the Bush administration and prior to September 11. The whole effort of the US to militarize space and to establish a system of military bases around the world, with no strategic enemy, and its unwillingness to even *consider* nuclear disarmament – all of those factors do indicate the presence of a kind of global-dominance project.

Q. *If we are confronting fascism, what do we know from history about resisting it?*
It's difficult. (Laughter.) It's very difficult, because the methods and the mentality of those who are controlling and developing this kind of politics of domination are such that they have no willingness to accommodate their adversaries. So there's no room for *politics*, in a way. And that makes it . . . it almost certainly drives the conflict toward a collision of extremes.

Richard Falk is a visiting professor of global studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and a professor emeritus of international law at Princeton University. Falk was interviewed by James MacKinnon.

In its hyper-modern form, the connection between peace and war has taken on a totally new form. Now that war regulates the global order, peace is nothing more than an illusion – one that might even conceal the rising forces of terror. What we know as "peace" is not the absence of war. Peace is the omnipresence of war.

Security is having no

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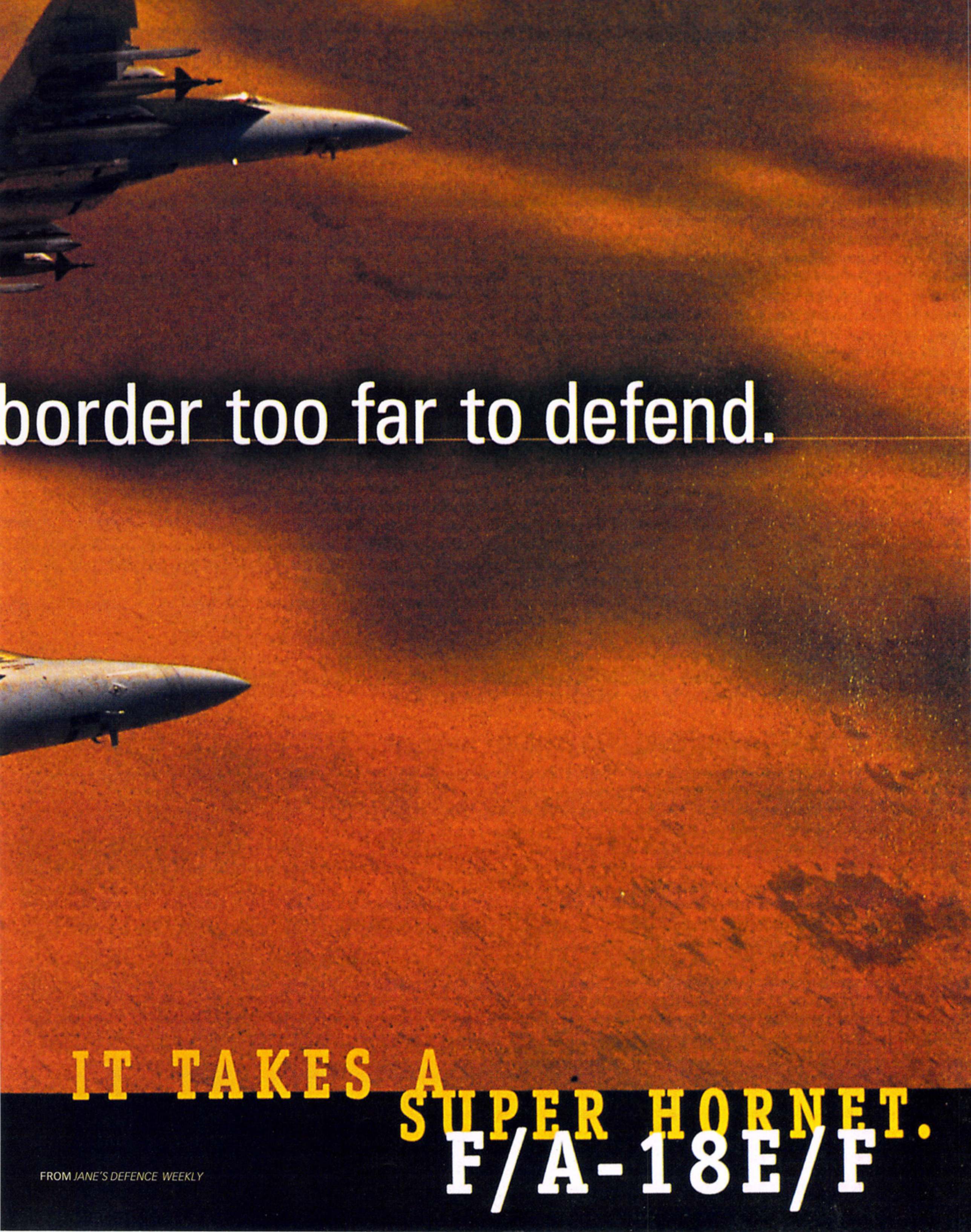
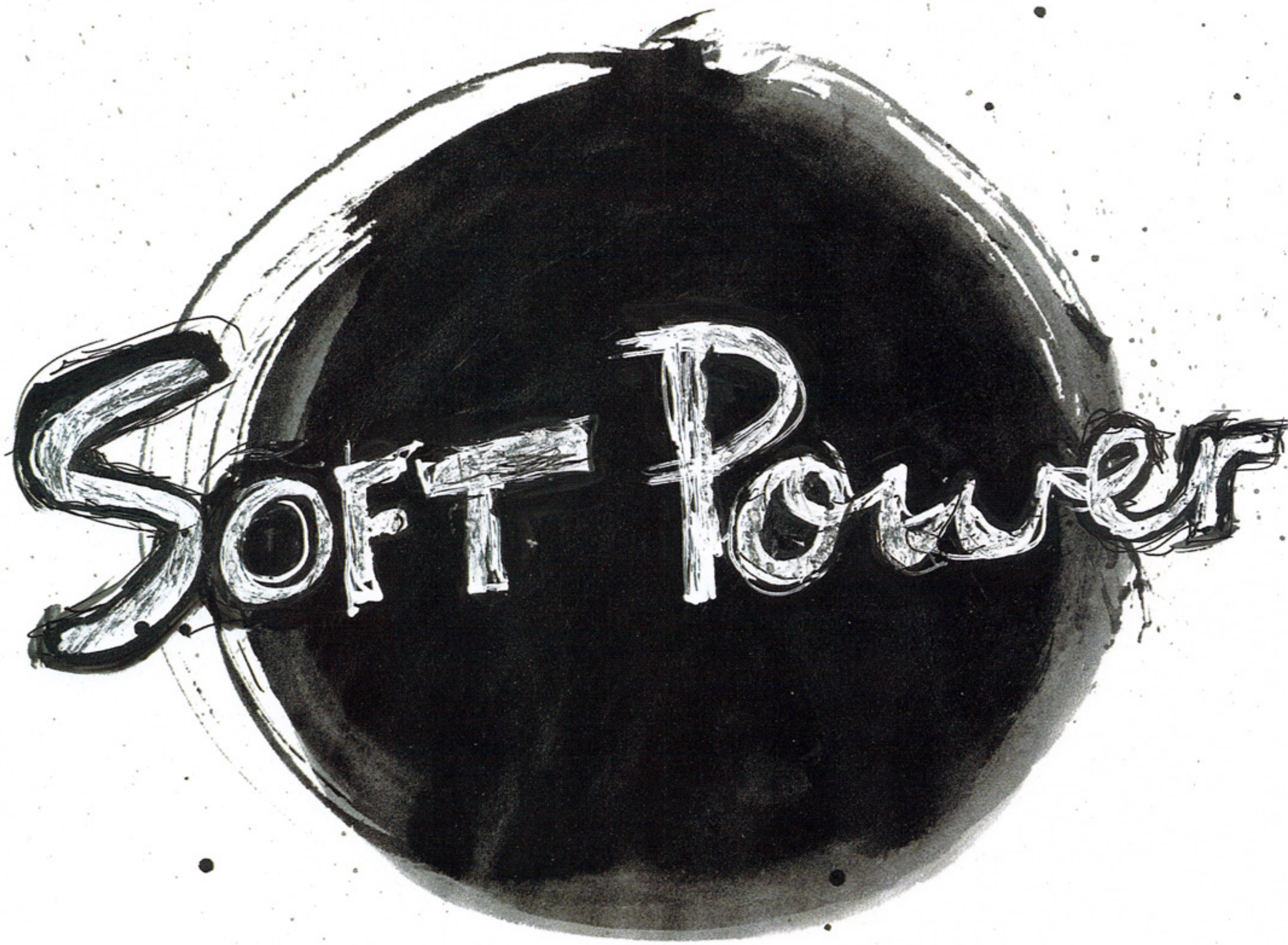
The Super Hornet provides superior range and payload to ensure that every border stays safe and secure. It's mission ready to fly more than 800 nautical miles (unrefueled radius) and carry up to 8,000 kilograms on 11 stations. A long-range show of force that'll teach any adversary to keep their distance.


border too far to defend.
IT TAKES A SUPER HORNET.
F/A-18E/F
FROM JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY



Freedom can't be given.

It has to be taken.

HULTON GETTY PHOTO ARCHIVE

MAHATMA GANDHI FASTS IN PROTEST AGAINST BRITISH RULE AFTER HIS RELEASE FROM PRISON IN POONA, INDIA, MARCH 1933.

There is a revolution coming. It will not be like revolutions of the past. It will originate with the individual and with culture, and it will change the political structure only as its final act. It will not require violence to succeed, and it cannot be successfully resisted by violence. It is now spreading with amazing rapidity, and already our laws, institutions and social structure are changing in consequence. It promises a higher reason, a more human community, and a new and liberated individual. Its ultimate creation will be a new and enduring wholeness and beauty, a renewed relationship of man to himself, to other men, to society, to nature, and to the land . . . This is the revolution of the new generation. It is both necessary and inevitable, and in time it will include not only youth, but all people in the world.

—Charles Reich

Sure, the old power knows nothing but consumption – drive the fear, the purchases, the resultant emptiness and by all means, keep up the unholy respect for old white men behind closed doors. Advertising and business in a crazy, emetic blur . . . to marketing, the worldview is always of another glorious "untapped market," never taking into consideration whether people on the other side of the world are unhappy and want to be us. Whether we want to be "us."

Okay.

But do you also sense a new, more quiet power? It's wiser, gentler, more pervasive. The "soft" power is essentially feminine, respectful and child-future-focused, with less push and shove, fewer war games being played. It's sensitive to a one-world health. The old power plays freedom as its trump card – expressed as something material, tangible, damageable, stealable, hurtable – to make people prize its artificial value and again crank up the fear. The new power knows the difference between freedom as a mask of infinite emptiness and freedom as detachment, connection and wakefulness.

Can true artists rise up and claim this new territory? Are there souls ready to say "no," to say "enough" and to sell something different? To sell truth? Peace? Love? Harmony? Compare the never-die car culture to community transit. Ad agencies will sell anything to make money, even backwards-facing old shit that solves nothing beyond a quarter's profit. Greed and acquisitiveness, insecurity, fear (POWER CORRUPTS, the simple, two-word message of *The Lord of the Rings*).

The one side has money, guns and slaves. The other has love and fearlessness.

A wee voice in the bowels of advertising cries out. "Let us rise now."

Paul MacFarlane
the 5.03 experiment
<www.the1101experiment.org>

NOW MORE THAN EVER, WE MUST MAINTAIN A DOUBLE VISION if we are to see clearly. There are two United States of America, and any analysis – whether from the left or the right – that aims at accuracy rather than myth-making must make that distinction. The one United States is institutionally a democratic republic. It is committed by its constitution to a balance of powers. It is a nation founded on principles of freedom: not the shallow freedoms of mass culture mediocrity and consumer choice, but the deeply human, I will say it, *universal* political freedoms of belief, speech, assembly, due process, and equality before the law – equality that has evolved over 200 years of citizen struggle.

I am fiercely loyal to the United States of America that espouses these ideals – ideals in no way the exclusive product of our history, but struggled for widely within the global public sphere. But there is another United States over which I have no control, because it is by definition not a democracy, not a republic. I am referring to the national security state that is called into existence with the sovereign pronouncement of a "state of emergency" and that generates a wild zone of power, barbaric and violent, operating without democratic oversight, in order to combat an "enemy" that threatens the existence not merely and not mainly of its citizens, but of its sovereignty. The paradox is that this undemocratic state claims absolute power over the citizens of a free and democratic nation.

My own coming of age politically was the consequence of a less publicized September 11 – in 1973, when the US government committed criminal acts, including murder, in support of the military coup in Chile of General Augusto Pinochet that caused the violent overthrow of Salvador Allende, the legally elected, Marxist president. (To think of the two September 11 events simultaneously – to think of Henry Kissinger and Pinochet together as criminals against humanity, to think of the US School of the Americas together with the Al Qaeda camps in Afghanistan as terrorist training grounds – is precisely what a global public must be capable of doing.) Under the logic of the national security state that has existed formally in the United States since at least 1947, the "national interest" was conflated with that of the "free world"; freedom-loving regimes were by definition pro-American; freedom-fighters were any groups, no matter how antidemocratic, who with US backing attempted to destroy leftist social movements throughout the world.

A strong, secular left existed in every Middle Eastern nation in the 1970s. It supported the Palestinian struggle, in Edward Said's words, as "a liberation ideal, not a provincial movement for municipal self-rule under foreign tutelage. We saw it as an integral unit within the liberation movements of the Third World – secular, democratic, revolutionary." This secular Arab left pressed for social and economic justice in terms antithetical to US military and economic interests, and it was in this atmosphere that the US national security state nurtured figures like Osama bin Laden, Saddam Hussein and the leaders of the Taliban, all of whom would learn well the lessons of the wild zone of power.

I have argued that the unlimited, unmonitored wild zone of power is a potential of every state that claims sovereign power, and with it, a monopoly of the legitimate use of violence. Two conclusions follow. The first is that no matter how democratic the constitution of a state regime, as a sovereign state it is always more than a democracy, and consequently a good deal less. The second is that human rights, human freedom, and human justice cannot be exclusive possessions of one nation or one civilization. They must be global rights, or they will not be rights at all.

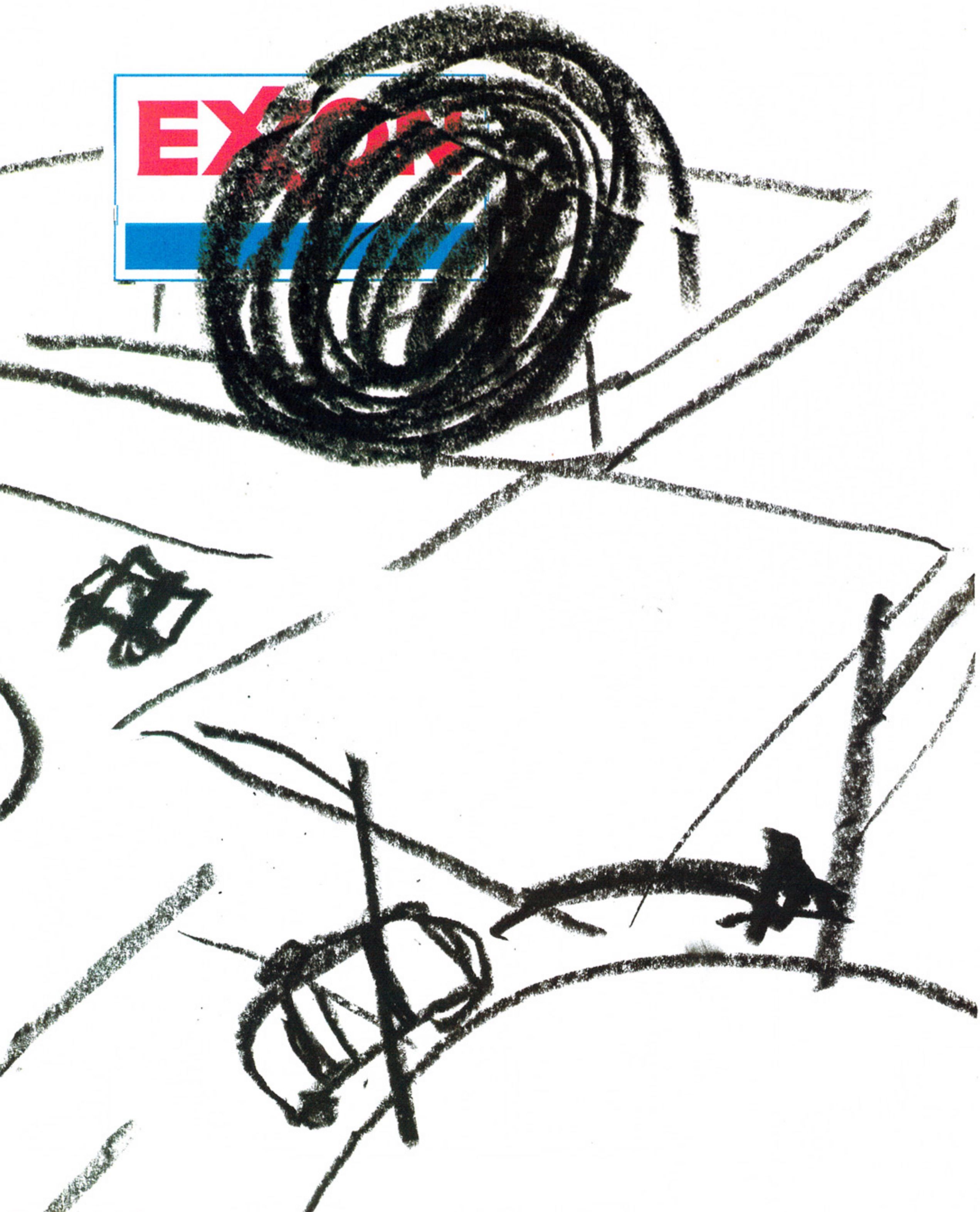
The problem is not that the West imposes its democratic values on the rest of the world, but that it does so selectively. It is intolerable that rights be applied with a double standard; it is inexcusable to justify this flagrant opportunism of US or any state policy in terms of respect for cultural diversity. Samuel Huntington, the author of *The Clash of Civilizations* and hardly a radical, describes US duplicity: "Democracy is promoted but not if it brings Islamic fundamentalists to power; nonproliferation is preached for Iran and Iraq but not for Israel; free trade is the elixir of economic growth but not for agriculture; human rights are an issue with China but not with Saudi Arabia; aggression against oil-owning Kuwaitis is massively repulsed but not against non-oil-owning Bosnians." We add to this list without pause: recall that the Taliban's violation of women's rights made them deserving of destruction, while the Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan was never even mentioned as a necessary component of an anti-Taliban regime.

As participants in a global public, we cannot allow ourselves, cynically, to accept such double standards. Humanity is the subject of the global public sphere, not the United States. No individual nation, no partial alliance, can wage war in humanity's name. We, the diverse multitude of humanity, must insist on this as non-negotiable: on this point, "you are with us or against us."

Until now, the US has been able, openly, to shift from the moral high ground to raw self-interest and still prevail. Until now. We in the vestige democracy that still calls itself proudly the United States of America, have the opportunity, now, to free ourselves from decades of being held hostage by the US national security state that has sullied our reputation and stolen our name. We must ask ourselves: How will we citizens, both civilians and soldiers, benefit from this "unlimited" war on terror, when its continuation is precisely what places our lives and our futures in danger? If the American way of life is going to have to change, let it be for the better. Let us not die for a system that exploits the globe's resources disproportionately and disproportionately reaps its wealth; that treats others with superpower arrogance and uses economic bribes to cripple the potency of the newly emerging, global body politic. If the war is brought to the homeland, let *us* be the ones who wage it – not with terrorist violence whereby the ends justify the means, but with divine violence as Walter Benjamin, a Jew and a Marxist, conceived it: collective political action that is lethal not to human beings, but to the mythic powers that reign over them.

Adapted with permission from Thinking Past Terror: Islamism and Critical Theory on the Left *(London and New York: Verso, 2003), by Susan Buck-Morss. Buck-Morss is a professor of government and history of art and visual studies at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York.*

KÖTT & VEGETARISKT
MATSEDEL


EXXON

BILLIONS OF PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD WERE FURIOUS about the invasion of Iraq, and they get angrier every day as the Bush administration keeps up its tub-thumping threats and calls for war. The big question that hangs in the air is: Can the world's sole superpower be kept in check? Can a new balance of power be restored? Or are we entering a frightening new era in which the US self-legitimates the use of force and runs the world as an imperial project?

Almost a century ago, Mahatma Gandhi asked the people of India to boycott British salt and cloth, and instead to make their own. It was the beginning of the end for the British Empire. Is it possible to borrow a page from the past and boycott the American Empire into submission?

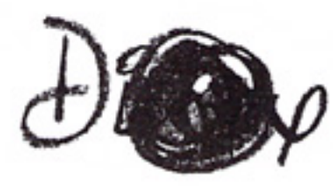
It would have to look like no other boycott in history, of course. First thousands, then millions of the world's people would need to start living strategically, each of us coming up with our personal boycott list, our own bag of tricks. We would have to adjust our lifestyles in sometimes painful ways: learn to live without foods and drinks we've loved since we were kids; find local alternatives to brands we consume every day without a second thought; shut out corporations that we've dealt with for years. We'd have to politicize every purchase we make, constantly look for opportunities and take them, because our target is a power that surrounds us all the time. They call it American cool.

And that's just the personal side of it. We'd have to spread the idea with all the tools we've developed in five years of global activism: protest networks, graffiti, media campaigns, underground zines. We'd need billboards in Tokyo and concerts in Berlin, subvertisements in Ankara and street posters in São Paulo, full-page ads in the *New York Times* and mind bombs exploding every day on the biggest TV networks. And of course, our movement would need its symbol, a universal anti-logo as well known around the world as the golden arches or the Nike swoosh.

It's a daunting project, and the chances of success are uncertain at best. But if all of us, each in our own sweet way, start living and shopping for a new world order, who knows where it will end?

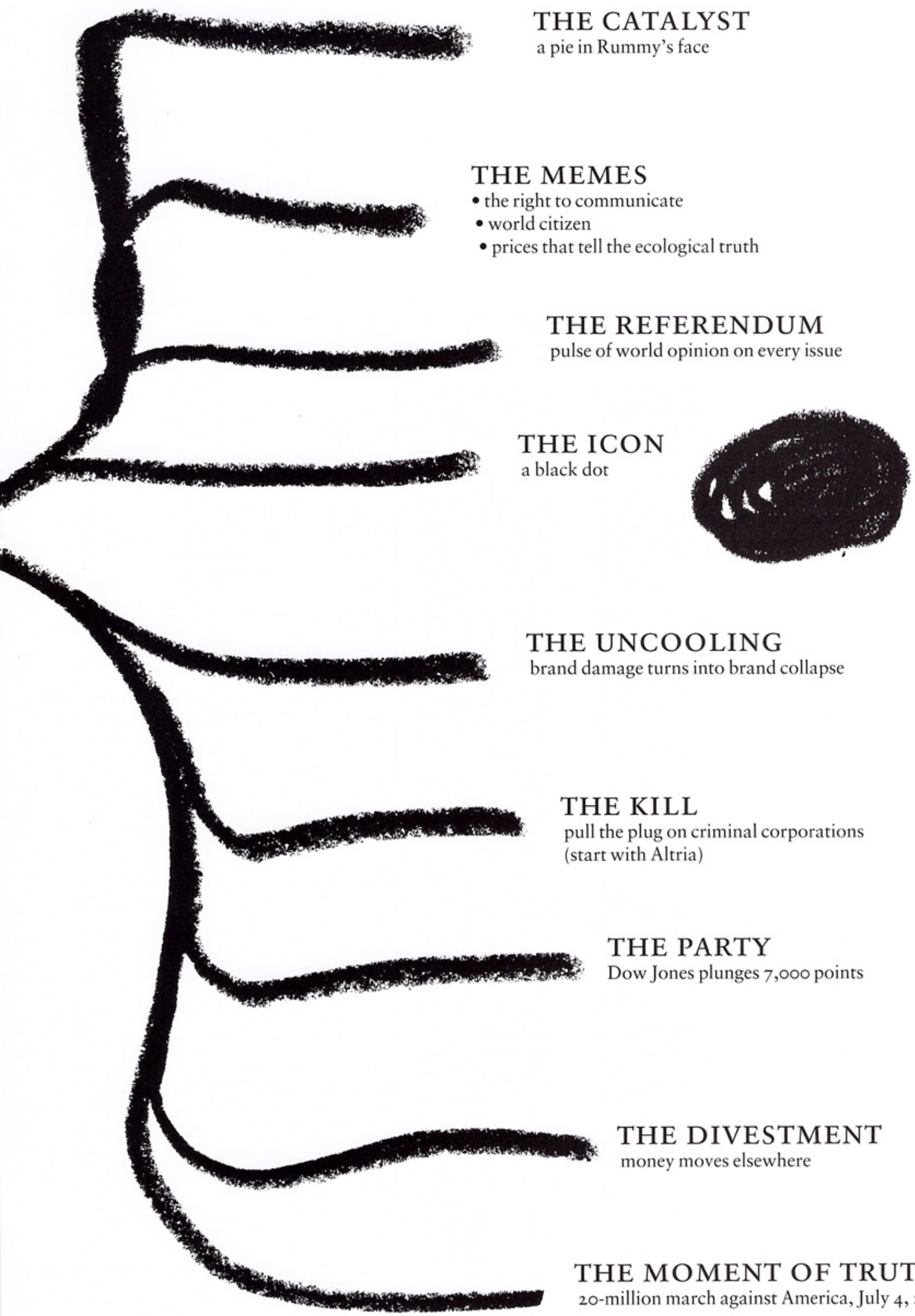
Kono Matsu

BLACK MARK AGAINST AMERICA



THE BIG FIX

In the end, the Resistance was known for one thing – they simply would not participate. Not in the 24-hour economy, the 60-hour workweek, the flag-waving parades, the media manias, the permanent fear, the cheers for the troops. And then there was their mark, of course. It crept into daily life, until it became a constant reminder that these really were bleak times. Until one day you no longer knew who was in control . . . the empire that was everywhere . . . or this invisible revolution.


THE CATALYST
a pie in Rummy's face
THE MEMES
• the right to communicate
• world citizen
• prices that tell the ecological truth
THE REFERENDUM
pulse of world opinion on every issue
THE ICON
a black dot
THE UNCOOLING
brand damage turns into brand collapse
THE KILL
pull the plug on criminal corporations
(start with Altria)
THE PARTY
Dow Jones plunges 7,000 points
THE DIVESTMENT
money moves elsewhere
THE MOMENT OF TRUTH
20-million march against America, July 4, 2004

IN THE FAIRLY LONG INTERVAL BETWEEN 1968 AND 1989 – in other words in that period where many of the revolutionaries against consumer capitalism metamorphosed into "civil society" human-rights activists – there were considerable interludes of quietism and stasis. And it was in order to survive those years of stalemate and realpolitik that a number of important dissidents evolved a strategy for survival. In a phrase, they decided to live "as if."

I'm never certain which author can claim the credit for this mild-sounding but actually deeply subversive and ironic decision. Vaclav Havel, then working as a marginal playwright and poet in a society and state that truly merited the title of Absurd, realized that "resistance" in its original insurgent and militant sense was impossible in the Central Europe of the day. He therefore proposed living "as if" he were a citizen of a free society, "as if" lying and cowardice were not mandatory patriotic duties, "as if" his government had actually signed (which it actually had) the various treaties and agreements that enshrine universal human rights. He called this tactic "The Power of the Powerless" because, even when disagreement can be almost forbidden, a state that insists on actually compelling assent can be relatively easily made to look stupid. You can't achieve 100 percent control over humans and, if you could, you could not go on doing so. It is – fortunately – too much responsibility for any human to assume, not that this keeps the control freaks from continuing to try.

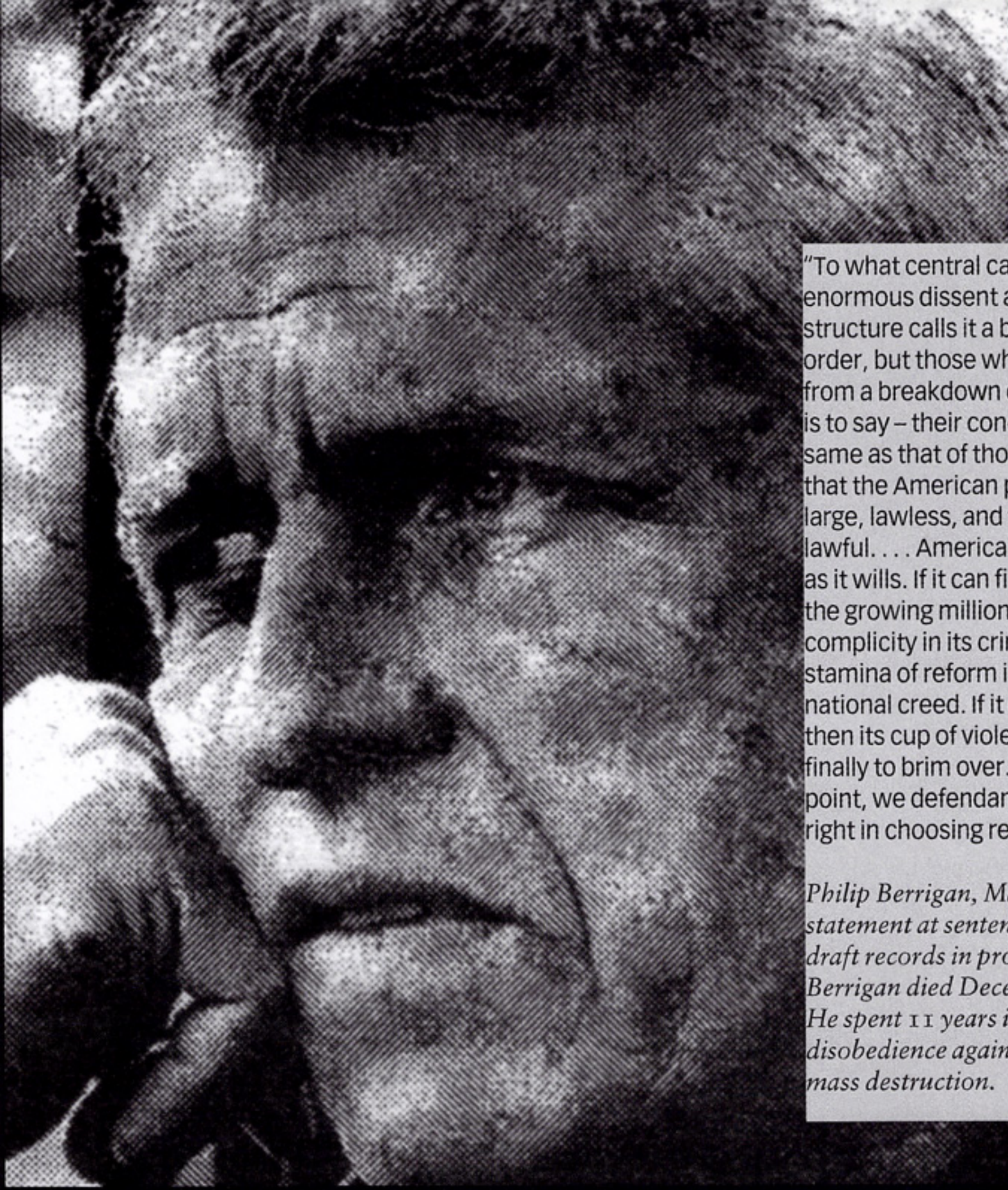
At around the same time, and alarmed in a different way by many of the same things (the morbid relationship of the Cold War to the nuclear arms race), professor E.P. Thompson proposed that we live "as if" a free and independent Europe already existed. Some people are still offended if one mentions these two men in the same breath – and Thompson would never have claimed that they both ran the same risks – but actually the two movements for human rights and disarmament were latently symbiotic at the beginning, and had become quite closely related by the end. And we know with certainty, from the memoirs of some of the "statesmen" of the period, that it was the stubborn, nonviolent, cultural and political rebellions of those years that impelled them to recast their assumptions. The process often involved an inversion in the usual relationship between the ironic and the literal. The "People Power" moment of 1989, when whole populations brought down their absurd rulers by an exercise of arm-folding and sarcasm, had its origins partly in the Philippines in 1985, when the dictator Marcos called an opportunist "snap election" and the voters decided to take him seriously. They acted "as if" the vote were free and fair, and they made it so. (The forgotten fact that the Soviet ambassador to Manila took the side of Marcos was also a portent of kind.)

I've slipped into recounting these legendary moments as if they vindicated dissenters, as they most certainly do, and as if they were self-evident "good, brave causes," which they most certainly were. But it's important to remember the many dreary years when the prospect of victory appeared quite unattainable. On every day of those years, the "as if" pose had to be kept up, until its cumulative effect could be felt. Many of the greatest "as if" practitioners – including Thompson himself, and men like Frantisek Kriegel in then Czechoslovakia – did not live long enough to see the grand production for which they had kept up the optimistic but phlegmatic rehearsals.

One could add further examples. In the late Victorian period, Oscar Wilde – master of the pose but not a mere poseur – decided to live and act "as if" moral hypocrisy were not repugnant. In the Deep South in the early 1960s, Rosa Parks decided to act "as if" a hardworking black woman could sit down on a bus at the end of the day's labor. In Moscow in the 1970s, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn resolved to write "as if" an individual scholar could investigate the history of his own country, and publish his findings. They all, by behaving literally, acted ironically. In each case, as we know now, the authorities were forced first to act crassly and then to look crass, and eventually to fall victim to stern verdicts from posterity. However, this was by no means the guaranteed outcome and there must have been days when the "as if" style was exceedingly hard to keep up.

All I can recommend, therefore (apart from the study of these and other good examples) is that you try to cultivate some of this attitude. In an average day, you may well be confronted with some species of bullying or bigotry, or some ill-phrased appeal to the general will, or some petty abuse of authority. If you have a political loyalty, you may be offered a shady reason for agreeing to a lie or a half-truth that serves some short-term purpose. Everybody devises tactics for getting through such moments; try behaving "as if" they need not be tolerated and are not inevitable.

Excerpted with permission from Letters to a Young Contrarian, *by Christopher Hitchens (Basic Books, 2001).*



"To what central cause can one attribute such enormous dissent and resistance? The power structure calls it a breakdown of law and order, but those who resist it say it stems from a breakdown of law and justice. Which is to say – their conclusion is essentially the same as that of those resisting . . . . Both feel that the American power structure is, by and large, lawless, and that it must be made lawful. . . . America can at this point treat us as it wills. If it can find justice for us and for the growing millions of citizens who refuse complicity in its crimes, then it will display a stamina of reform in full accordance with its national creed. If it cannot find justice for us, then its cup of violence will fill up and up, finally to brim over. And at that mysterious point, we defendants will have been proven right in choosing revolution over reform."

Philip Berrigan, May 24, 1968, from his statement at sentencing for destruction of draft records in protest of the Vietnam war. Berrigan died December 6, 2002, at age 79. He spent 11 years in prison for acts of civil disobedience against war and weapons of mass destruction.

WE LIKE TO PRETEND THAT THE WORLD we live in is not absurd – and then the moments come. You catch yourself signing a petition to exclude the mentally ill from living in your neighborhood *because you are worried about your property values*. You watch commuters step over an unconscious homeless person *without a second thought*. You realize that if everyone saved their money instead of falling into debt, *the economy would collapse*.

What happens when the absurdism seems to build and build, until it becomes something . . . something almost like *reality*? You might decide to do things differently. You might invite an interesting stranger into your home for a few nights, learn how to cook Armenian food, and give him a massage. You might give away your Oakley sunglasses to a Dominican teenager who loses the baseball in the sun. You might succumb to your sudden urge to buy a bicycle for a woman you fell madly in love with while visiting aunts and uncles in Estonia. You might start talking to the old woman beside you on the bench, take her number and call her in a few days.

Such generosity, activism – such *benevolence* could be a sign that you are mentally ill. Acts of charity can be evidence of mania. Falling in love too quickly? Writing too many letters to the mayor? Feeling physical affection like an overwhelming drug? Buying gifts and giving away your belongings? Crying over the struggles of strangers? Stripping naked at a protest? Are you sure that you don't need professional help?

Are your actions – sane? Or might your passions and virtues be evidence of poor judgment, recklessness, manic insight? Your behavior could lead to a confrontation with police or medical experts. If so, denial of your symptoms or diagnosis could be considered additional proof of your madness. Refusing medication almost certainly will be. Are you paranoid?

Practically speaking, you might not be allowed to leave the hospital until you've stopped caring so much. You might only be left to do as you please when you are able to ignore people in distress and stop sharing your possessions. Perhaps only when you've realized that a war on terrorism justifies the killing of innocent civilians will you be decertified. Only when you've given in to the absurd will you finally be free.

Nils Riis

Q. —
One of the things the United States government has been pushing since September 11, 2001 is a new information policy, a new information system. There are suggestions coming out of Washington, DC, to radically redesign the internet, or at least the last mile of the internet – the mile through which the users interact with the internet service providers – to have more oversight, less privacy, to tether our internet presence to a particular place, a particular city, state or country. There are also efforts to monitor all of our electronic transactions, whether that's through credit cards or long-distance phone calls or cellphones, and have a huge database – run through the Pentagon – trace all our moves.

There are two questions here: would such a system be effective against the real problems? And would the harm that comes from that sort of intervention outweigh the benefits? The second question is really hard to ask, so let me ask it a different way: if this technological intervention is effective – and that's a big if – is there a less intrusive way to achieve the same result?

So if surveillance of everybody might stop a handful of terrorist acts – and hopefully that's all we're facing – is there a way to imagine more targeted surveillance? Surveillance based on hard work, surveillance based on real investigations? Surveillance based on the trust the government establishes with its citizens, such that its citizens feel invested in the public good? What I mean by that is: the best way to stop any illegal act, terrorist or otherwise, is to make sure that those terrorists do not have support structures in society in general. In order to eliminate those support structures, you have to make sure life is good and secure and that the people around those ne'er-do-wells have some sort of investment or loyalty in the larger community. There are really complicated, hard, messy ways to attack terrorism, and they're expensive, and they're imperfect. But I think that they are ultimately more effective and more likely to engender trust in the nation at large.

Q. —
Part of the problem with The Patriot Act is that it is self-denying. If you're being investigated under the powers of the Patriot Act, you're not allowed to tell anybody that you're being investigated. If you run an institution like a library or a bookstore and the FBI comes and says "Look, we want to look at all the records of this particular patron," you're not allowed to complain about that, protest that, inform the person who's being investigated. You're sworn to secrecy. In other words, you're enlisted in the world of security and law enforcement, whether you want to be or not.

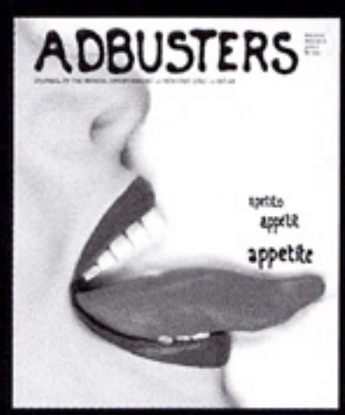
We don't know what the effects of the Patriot Act are. And Congress doesn't know. Congress doesn't know how many times it's been invoked. Congress doesn't know how many people are being investigated under this system. Congress doesn't know and therefore we don't know how effective it has been and we have absolutely no way of testing it. This is a blank check to a government institution – in this case the Federal Bureau of Investigation – that is notorious for overstepping its bounds, notorious for being ineffective, incompetent and on the verge of corrupt. It's an institution that we know is and has been blatantly racist in many of its practices. This is not the sort of power we want to give to any particular government agency without very careful oversight. But that's exactly what we did. Well, Congress did it. And Congress did it without even reading what it was doing. The USA Patriot Act is probably the biggest example of legislative malpractice in the last 50 years.

From a conversation with Siva Vaidhyanathan, author of The Anarchist in the Library *and assistant professor of culture and communications at New York University. Interview by Paul Schmelzer.*

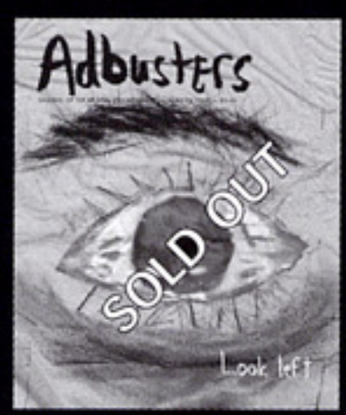
In the buildup to TV Turnoff Week (April 21-27), we raised a whack of cash to buy 15 seconds of airtime on the nation's rebel hip music station – MTV. At first they said "maybe." But then MTV's clearance director Lisa Flythe said "no." Candidly, she said the ad was "controversial", and the station's business model does not jive well with any suggestion to viewers to take a TV break. We put an update on our website and suggested jammers fire opinions at MTV. The next day, Lisa was gone. No explanation.

It's time for broadcasters to be reminded that private citizens, and not just big corporations, have a right to media access. We call it Media Carta – the fundamental right of meaningful access to the power to communicate. For backup, we point to Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right . . . to impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers." In this age when corporate empires dominate the media terrain – print, radio, television, movies, billboards, websites – we will keep fighting to be heard. We will resist the dominion of the profit margin. And we'll keep daring the oh-so-rebellious MTV to step out of the mainstream for a measly 15 seconds.

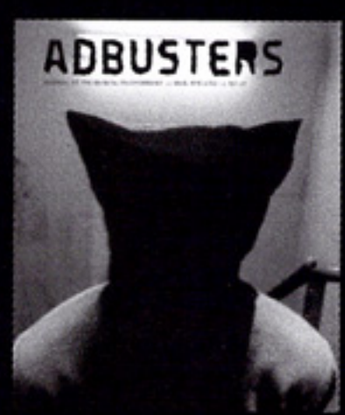
43 Curb Your Consumption



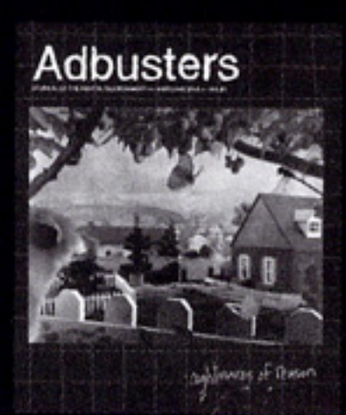
44 Appetite



45 I Want to Change My Look



46 Are You in Denial?



47 Nigtmares of Reason

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WHAT DOES ANYBODY KNOW ABOUT THE SUGAR INDUSTRY? The people who put the frosting on the frosted flakes keep a low profile and are happy when folks are too busy eating to ask a lot of questions. Now, though, a dust-up with the World Health Organization has flushed them into the limelight, where they're pitting profits against public health.

The conflict was inflamed by a new set of dietary guidelines drawn from two years of research by the WHO and the UN Food and Agricultural Organization. The guidelines are part of a worldwide strategy to tame the swelling epidemic of obesity, diabetes, osteoporosis and cardiovascular diseases. One recommendation is that free sugars (i.e. sugar added to foods) should make up no more than 10 percent of our daily caloric intake. The sugar lobby reacted to that suggestion like a toddler asked to hand back his Halloween booty.

The Sugar Association – an industry coalition – tried to dissuade and discredit the WHO report even before it was released on April 23. The association fired off a letter to US Health Secretary Tommy Thompson, urging him to challenge the global health authority, and two US senators were called into battle. (One of them, Republican Larry Craig, was the fourth-largest recipient of campaign contributions from the sugar industry in the last election, according to the Center for Responsive Politics.) Most chillingly, Sugar Association president Andrew Briscoe sent a letter to Gro Harlem Brundtland, secretary general of the WHO, threatening to "exercise every avenue available" against the diet report, "including asking Congressional appropriators to challenge future funding of the US's $406 million contributions" to the WHO.

"It was particularly stupid for them to put in writing that they're going to try to get Congress to take away WHO's money," says Michael Jacobsen, executive director of the Center for Science in the Public Interest. "It gave consumers a chance to see the kind of bullying that is usually done behind closed doors."

In their many complaints to the WHO and to the media, the Sugar Association argued that 25 percent of daily calories – not 10 percent – was an acceptable sugar intake. As proof they put forward a recent review by the US Institute of Medicine. But the institute soon countered with a press release of their own, saying that the sugar kingpins were misrepresenting a study whose findings were "not meant to convey a desirable or even acceptable standard intake."

Right now, more than 15 percent of Americans' calories come from free sugar, which adds up to nearly 150 pounds per person per year. But it's not just consumers who are addicted. In the 2002 Florida elections, the sugar industry gave more than $800,000 in contributions. Governor Jeb Bush is now accused of being pressured by the industry into passing a bill that will delay the cleanup of the Florida Everglades by another 20 years. (For decades the run-off from sugar cane farms has drained into the Everglades, carrying harmful levels of phosphorous.) After fumbling its recent machinations, however, the sugar industry is finally coming under careful public scrutiny. Big Sugar as the next Big Tobacco? Nothing could be sweeter.

Chris Tenove

Is it ideal to make a third America out of Africa, and a fourth Europe out of Asia? Do we want to create two more Americas? Which freethinker likes to cherish such an ideal? As much as this is not an ideal, to stand stationary and squat over our fossilized traditional molds are not ideals either . . . Instead of trying to negate humanity by embracing the order of machinism and imitating the West, instead of galloping madly towards consumption, we can move hand in hand, side by side, and create new patterns of thinking.

– Ali Shariati

> Date: [redacted]
>
> New Muslim management gurus are teaching business ethics from an Islamic
> standpoint, stressing the radical principle of . . . honesty. Another aspect of Islamic
> economics is the new move to boycott American products. Muslims are opting to attend
> local Disney-style amusement parks, to drink ZamZam Cola (an alternative to Coke that
> began in Iran after the 1979 revolution kicked out American corporations), and snack on
> Abu Ammar (Yasser Arafat's nom de guerre) potato chips that purport to donate a
> portion of proceeds to the Palestinian cause. "Saudi Burger" and "Pizza Sheikh" have
> been gaining ground on Burger King and McDonald's. On the morality front, toy-makers
> in Iran have replaced Barbie and Ken with Dara and Sara, boy and girl twins (not potential
> mates, clearly) whose modest clothing cannot be removed . . .

DON'T STOP LIVING IN THE RED

FROM *SURFACE* MAGAZINE, ISSUE NO. 41

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> From: kalle@adbusters.org
> Subject:
>
> They say, you know, that there cannot be "good" without "evil" and vice versa. Does that
> mean there could be no Bush without Bin Laden? Or, for that matter, would there be no
> "us" if it were not for the powers of globalization?

I FEEL WEIRD ABOUT IT, BUT IN A HURRY TO GET TO THE PROTEST, I TOOK THE CAR. And I popped into a fast-food joint along the way. I felt even more uncomfortable as we marched past some homeless people and then the polluted harbor, all of us carrying our signs about trouble overseas. By the time we were ingratiating ourselves to the reporters and repeating our well-crafted soundbites, I was feeling positively nauseous.

My arm limply lowered my sign.

Too many issues, too many compromises. Are we reformers? Revolutionaries? Are we doomed to endlessly putting out spot fires in the forest while deep underground the roots never stop burning?

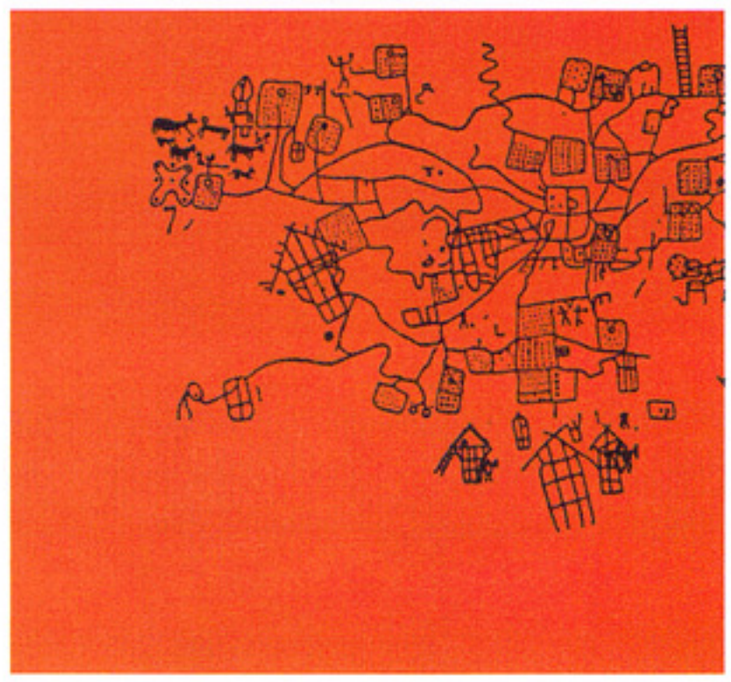
A trillion impulses per second pass through every brain. A billion possibilities hang between people in every pulsing moment. The mightiest fascist cannot hope to hold back the thundering stream of reality. In word, in gesture, in thought, in deed, we are constantly and instantly reshaping our world. Our one fatal concession is the refusal to step outside our psychological conventions.

"Life is a tremendously vast, vital and beautiful rushing river!" Isn't this really what we are trying to say? "To kill a person is an abysmal horror!"

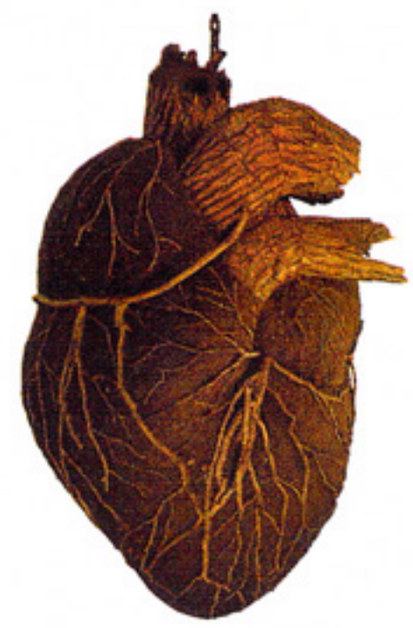
Even thinking it. Even imagining myself, running down the street, grabbing people and shouting. I feel a rush like in the moment that I've gone too far to stop myself from plunging into a cool spring lake.

Rob Wipond

If everything has its day, as a character observes at the beginning of *Songs from the Second Floor* (2002), then perhaps our day is nearly done. In this Swedish film, life in the city takes an absurd, millennial turn. Streets are clogged and everyone's headed in the same direction – away. A man burns down his furniture store to get money from insurance. People on the sidewalk watch indifferently as an immigrant is stabbed before their eyes. We slowly discover a vast mental breakdown that could easily be our own. By Roy Andersson (Swedish with English subtitles), find *Songs* at your local video shop or online at <www.videomatica.com>.



Walkscapes by Francesco Careri (Gustavo Gili, 2002) is a 203-page exploration of how, with the right mind, walking can become a critical tool and an aesthetic act. Take a journey through creative walking history: roam through Dada's *banal city*, step out on a Situationist's *dérive*, let go with Lettrist drifting. Learn how a few unpredicted turns can confront the assumptions of architecture, or redesign the contours of urban space. Then put the book down and take a few steps of your own.



Kilometer Zero magazine. From a leaky squat in Paris comes this slick, thick, full-color mag. Free of ads and corporate sponsorships, it aims to be a "beacon of hope to those frustrated with the culture of consumerism." Driven by US artists living abroad, the Kilometer Zero Project also creates low-brow venues for art and spoken word. In one project (documented in issue 03), they pose as a fashion mag, rob rich clothiers of free duds, and then pass them off to poor folk. For more, see <www.kilometerzero.org>.

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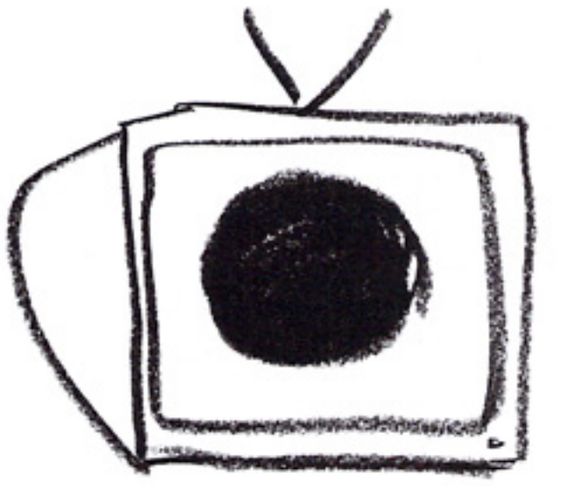

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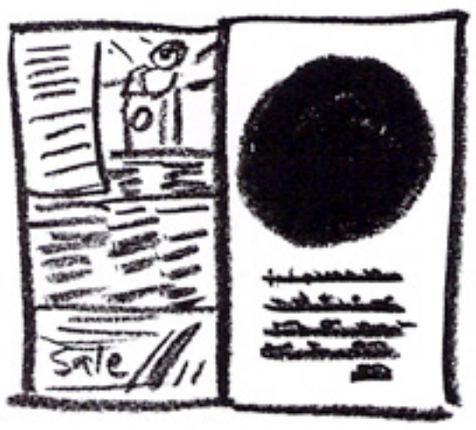

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LEANDRO ANDRADE WILL GET 50 YEARS in jail for shoplifting nine childrens videos, including *Snow White*, *Cinderella* and *Free Willy*. According to California's "three strikes" law, a third felony, no matter how trivial, gets you 25 years to life in prison. The idea is that harsh sentences will scare repeat criminals into walking the line of the law – unless those criminals happen to be corporations, in which case they get a slap on the wrist as they go back to making money.

Enter Senator Gloria Romero and her three-strikes-you're-out bill that targets corporate repeat offenders. Under the Los Angeles lawmaker's proposal, any corporation convicted in a 10-year period of any three felonies – such as tax fraud, or violating environmental or labor laws – would be barred from doing business in the state. Because few companies commit three felonies over that short a time span, the bill also proposes that companies with one or two "strikes" against them must make that fact public in California's largest newspaper. The bill has been approved by the Senate judiciary committee and will soon wend its way onto the Senate floor.

Meanwhile, the California Democrats have another iron in the corporate-reform fire. In February, Richard Alarcón, the Senate majority whip, put forward the Good Corporate Citizen Bill, which mandates that corporate directors' quest to maximize profits cannot be carried out "at the expense of the environment, human rights, the public health, the community or the dignity of employees." If passed, the bill would make it possible for the attorney general to launch civil action against corporate offenders – including, in some cases, the individual corporate directors. Alarcón's bid hasn't made it through the Senate committee stage yet, but it's already stirring the idea that corporations can be asked to act as moral bodies.

Why is corporate reform gaining momentum in California? It's true that the breeze off the Pacific seems to refresh the activist spirit, but Californians also have recent memories of being gouged by unethical mega-corporations: in particular, the Enron collapse contributed to huge electricity-related losses that helped inflate the state deficit to a crippling $35 billion.

And California isn't the only place where corporate reform has reached the level of state politics. A similar corporate citizenship code was recently put forward in Minnesota. Marjorie Kelly, editor of the Minnesota-based magazine *Business Ethics*, points out that going after individual corporations to improve their behavior is like shoveling a snowbound driveway with a spoon. It's states that issue the charters that allow corporations to exist, she says. That means the public has the power to "change the corporate form itself, at the level of DNA."

Chris Tenove

In the fight for civil rights in the 20th century, no group succeeded as well – and so consistently – as Corporate America. Tobacco companies revel in the right to free speech. Oilpatch operators can send the Environmental Protection Agency packing unless the inspectors show up with a search warrant. Big-box stores can run small businesses out of town under the constitutional protection of "life, liberty, or property." They can do all these things because the courts have decided that the corporation – a legal construct originally created so governments could rein-in abuses of economic power – should be considered a person under the law.

But then there is Licking Township, Pennsylvania.

On March 12, the township passed the Corporate Rights Elimination and Self-Government Ordinance, joining with Porter Township (also in Pennsylvania) to become the only municipalities in the nation where corporations have lost their personhood.

Both Licking and Porter were building on an earlier challenge to corporate power. The two township councils wanted to be free to pass laws to protect the health and safety of their residents, but had seen similar legislation go foul in nearby Rush Township. When Rush tried to prevent sewage corporations from dumping Pittsburgh's sludge in their community, Synagro Corp. slapped the municipality with a multi-million dollar lawsuit. The company's claim? Its constitutional rights were being violated.

Licking and Porter, then, are aiming to extinguish the rights that give corporations the edge against democratic choice. If it comes down to a legal battle, the townships can count on support – the "anti-corporate personhood" model was developed by the statewide Community Environmental and Legal Defense Fund, which has vowed to defend the idea in court.

The legal front against corporate power is almost certain to break wide open, and soon. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has launched a campaign to have 50 municipalities pass resolutions that abolish corporate personhood. They hope that a groundswell of support will bring federal legislators closer to the ultimate goal: abolishing corporate personhood by constitutional amendment. So far Point Arena, California, has passed the resolution, and organizers are hopeful that San Francisco will sign on soon. Add the Porter and Licking townships – whose ordinances are stronger legislation than resolutions – and you have the seeds of a movement. America's newest civil rights campaign could be for everyone and anyone: the power of the people to put their own corporate creations back into their proper place.

FROM INDYMEDIA, JAPAN

FIREPOWER

QUOTE: FROM AN INTERVIEW WITH GWYNNE DYER, INDEPENDENT FOREIGN AFFAIRS JOURNALIST, BY DEBORAH CAMPBELL

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FROM *JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY*

GENERAL DYNAMICS

GWYN DYER, FROM AN INTERVIEW WITH DEBORAH CAMPBELL

Q. It seems that the current American administration doesn't have a great fear of war.

No. War is an instrument of policy. This is straightforward 18th and 19th century stuff. It is more dangerous, but the dangers lie not in World War III next year, but in essentially destroying the entire structure of world order that we've spent 50 years building, and at the same time creating a long-term confrontation between the Muslim world and the West, which in the short run doesn't lead to anything horrendous except a lot of terrorism, but in the longer run could. It's just stupid stuff. This isn't the end of the world yet but it's motherfucking dumb.

—Gwynne Dyer

Khalil thought a little . . . the sea. It all goes to the sea . . . all the days that wash over the city flow to the sea . . . over the years the days had become many. All that the war had left behind it, all that it had destroyed and burned and broken . . . to the sea. The war . . . to the sea. These words floated between what he had thought of as simply dry land and waters . . . it was clear to him that the sea was full. Overflowing with things from the city, with its decaying limbs . . .

Then the sea returns them to us as vapors and rains . . . then they come back and . . . we clean with them and water our plants . . . and they . . .

Khalil looked, appalled, at his vegetables which glistened with the suet of the city and threw them into the rubbish. He turned off the gas ring and stood in front of his single window . . .

Where can we go with all we have seen and . . . heard and . . . known? . . .

Where can the city go to get away from this sea?

—Hoda Barakat

FROM *STONE OF LAUGHTER*, BY HODA BARAKAT (GARNET PUBLISHING, 1994)

A ♥

DICK CHENEY
Vice President of the
United States of America

♥ A

July 4

because my country has sold its soul to corporate power

because consumerism has become our national religion

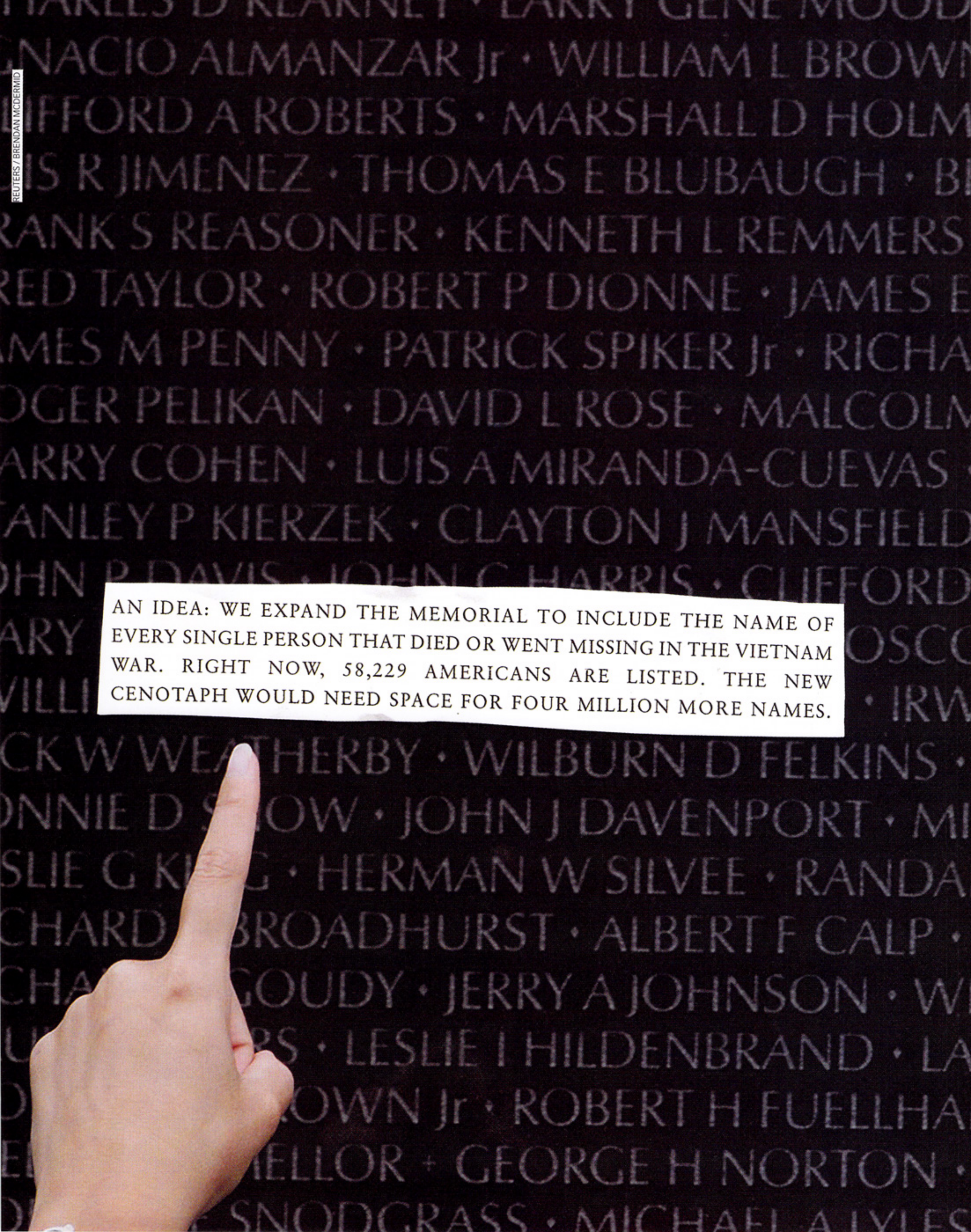
because we've forgotten the true meaning of freedom and justice

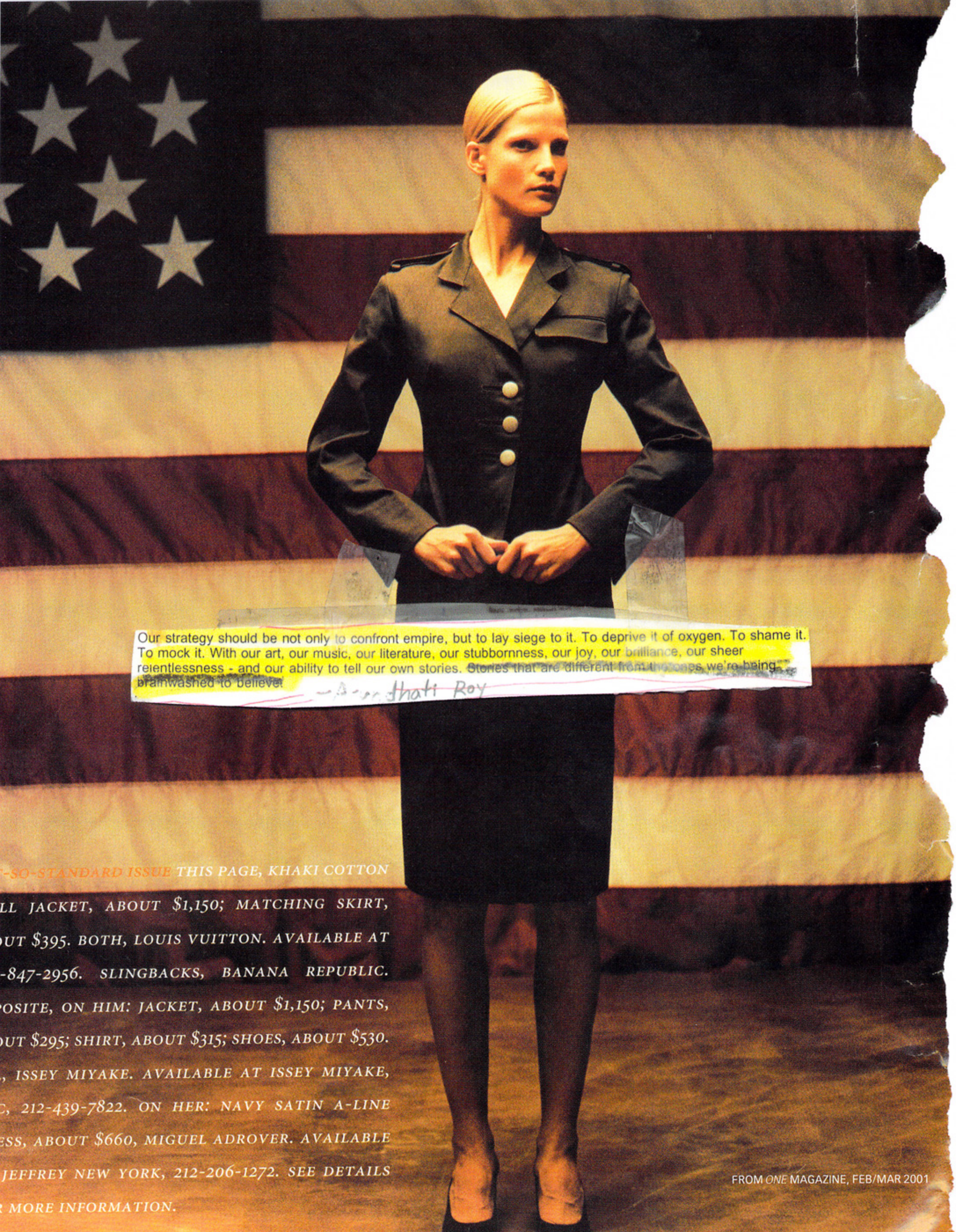
because we went to war in defiance of the world

and because patriotism now means agreeing with the president

I'm going to unbrand my country . . . take it back.

<unbrandamerica.org>


REUTERS / BRENDAN MCDERMID
AN IDEA: WE EXPAND THE MEMORIAL TO INCLUDE THE NAME OF EVERY SINGLE PERSON THAT DIED OR WENT MISSING IN THE VIETNAM WAR. RIGHT NOW, 58,229 AMERICANS ARE LISTED. THE NEW CENOTAPH WOULD NEED SPACE FOR FOUR MILLION MORE NAMES.



Our strategy should be not only to confront empire, but to lay siege to it. To deprive it of oxygen. To shame it. To mock it. With our art, our music, our literature, our stubbornness, our joy, our brilliance, our sheer relentlessness - and our ability to tell our own stories. Stories that are different from the ones we're being brainwashed to believe.

-Arundhati Roy

-SO-STANDARD ISSUE THIS PAGE, KHAKI COTTON
LL JACKET, ABOUT $1,150; MATCHING SKIRT,
UT $395. BOTH, LOUIS VUITTON. AVAILABLE AT
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OSITE, ON HIM: JACKET, ABOUT $1,150; PANTS,
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, 212-439-7822. ON HER: NAVY SATIN A-LINE
ESS, ABOUT $660, MIGUEL ADROVER. AVAILABLE
JEFFREY NEW YORK, 212-206-1272. SEE DETAILS
R MORE INFORMATION.

FROM *ONE* MAGAZINE, FEB/MAR 2001

BUSH DUMPED LIKE FATHER
Riots and suicide attacks across the Middle East end Bush's post-Iraq popularity surge. But it's the economy, his war-inflated deficits and his tax cuts for the rich that send Bush II into the dustbin of history.

THE FIRST GLOBAL REFERENDUM
"You can't run the world by consensus committee" warns President McCain in the run-up to the UN's first plebiscite. The vote is slow and plagued by bureaucratic inefficiency, but when it is over, the 6 billion Citizens of the World have finally found their voice.

JUSTICE GLOBALIZED
Photographs of US operatives using "unspeakable" interrogation techniques, appear in Le Monde. President McCain fires the CIA director and, in an act of repentance, endorses the International Criminal Court.

TOBIN TAX
Fiercely resisted by the US, but endorsed by a growing coalition of national parliaments and, by referendum, 95% of the people in the world, Professor Tobin's 0.25% tax on financial transactions is finally implemented by the WTO. "This revenue will give us the financial independence we've always dreamed about," says Kofi Annan.

UNTV GOES ON THE AIR
"Not as good as the BBC, but way better than CNN or FOX," says Michael Moore, at the launch c
channel

SPACE DE-MILITARIZED
China shoots down a snooping US satellite and the US goes on high alert. After a week of cowering in bomb shelters, citizens of the world demand a Non-Proliferation of Weapons in Space Treaty.

TRUE-COST PARTY BORN
A coalition of greenies, unionists and activists launch The True Cost Party of America. "We stand for extreme capitalism," says economist Herman Daly at the founding conference, "the price of every product must tell the social and ecological truth."

CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM
Four million in jail. The highest rate of violent crime in the developed world. Death rows plagued by procedural errors. "It's time to get smart about crime," says the Attorney-General, who blames years of interference by the criminal-industrial complex. "Tough and dumb isn't working."

CORPORATE PERSONHOOD ENDS
Citizen actions at the county, state, then federal levels start to strip corporations of their legal rights and immunities. "People, not businesses, are the foundation of our democracy," says the movement's guru, Richard Grossman.

MALL OF THE AMERICAS CLOSES FOR LACK OF BUSINESS.

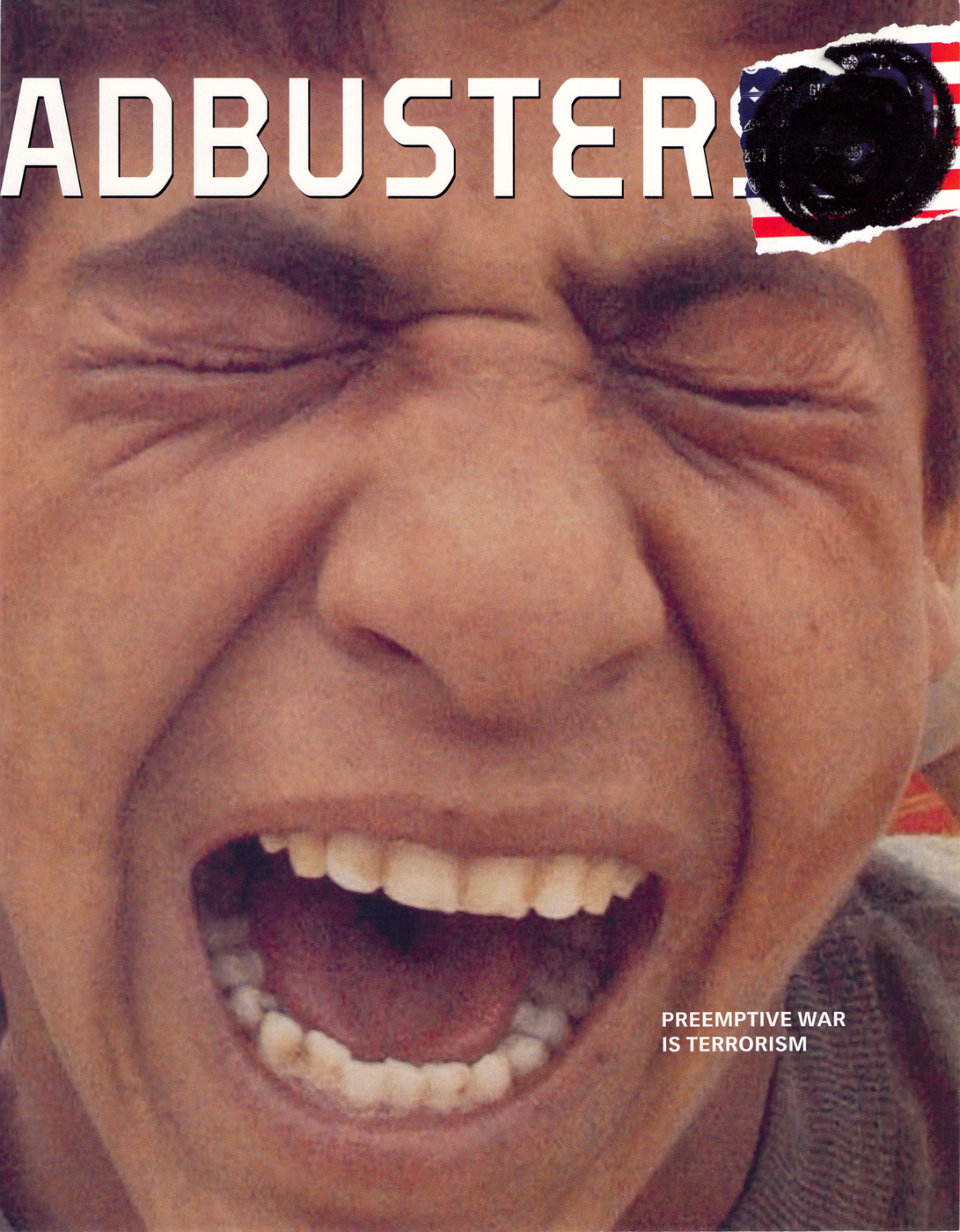
ANTI-HUNGER MOVEMENT GROWS
End Starvation Now begins as an internet petition, then gains half a billion signatures and is put forward in legislatures around the world. The mechanisms are hazy; the determination is not.

FIRST WOMAN BECOMES PRESIDENTIAL NOMINEE.
And it's not Hilary Clinton.

JOHN MANLEY UPSETS PAUL MARTIN IN CANADIAN LEADERSHIP RACE.

We the People

ADBUSTERS



them

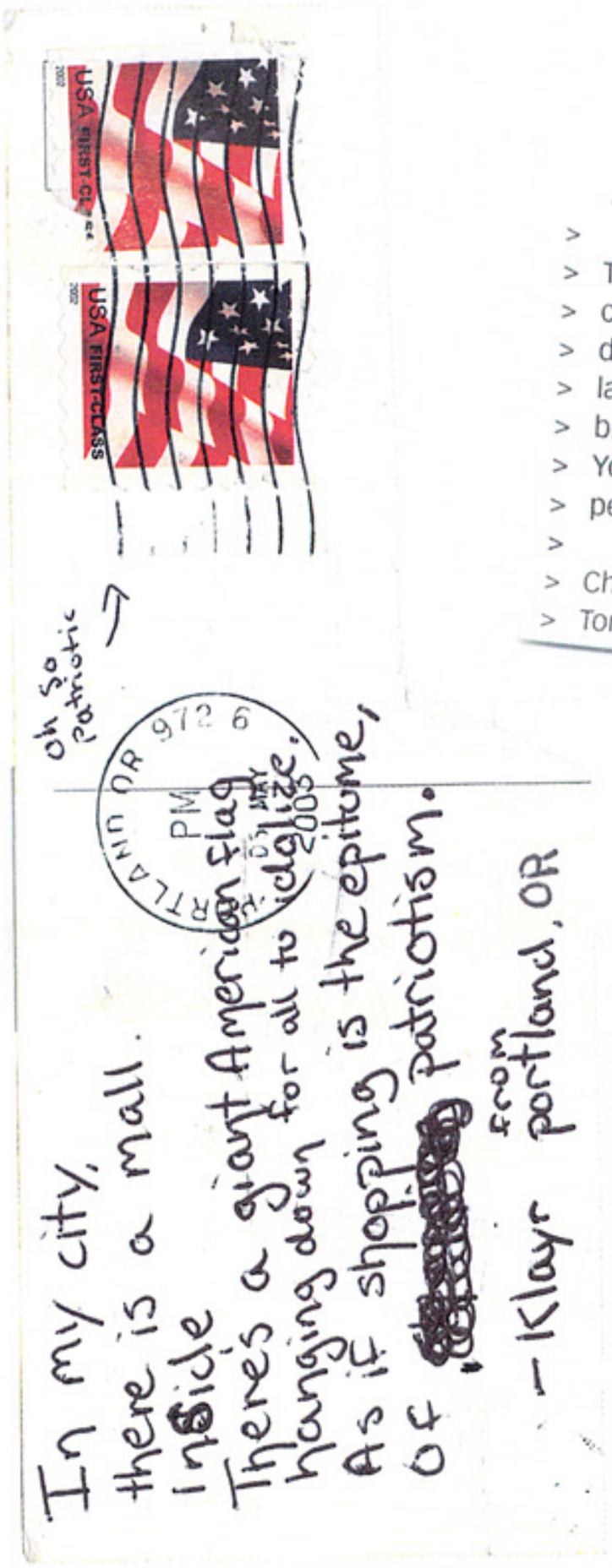
"In our grief and anger we have found our mission and our moment."

~ George W. Bush

EASTER SERVICE ON *USS NIMITZ*, ARABIAN GULF, APRIL 20, 2003

> From: "Jesse Walters" <jesse_walters@[illegible]
> To: editor@adbusters.org
>
> There is too much resentment – too much judgment and accusation in your magazine.
> Where is the wild affirmation, the fresh air? How can you breathe? The labor of the
> negative will always re-inscribe its own slavery. Only the affirmative is liberating. Affirm
> difference, quit reacting with the same binary oppositional logic that you are trying to
> overcome. Reactionary emancipation is absurd; there is only ever the eternal return of
> the same. The idea is not to escape, but to turn – to create new horizons by folding reality
> back on itself. A fold is neither the end nor the beginning of a surface. A fold is only ever
> a boundary or horizon. The more I read your magazine, the more I wonder whether you
> only started thinking about five or 10 minutes ago.
>
> Jesse Walters
> Vancouver, British Columbia

> To: editor@adbusters.org
>
> The message on your website stating, "Fuck opulence, fuck decadence, fuck your
> corporate cool," was typed, printed and placed *all over* my high school. I am extremely
> disturbed by this event and don't appreciate reading that sort of text – only to find out
> later that it's supporting anarchy. I am stressing that you need to add under-18
> block/screening to your website. If you don't deal with this, I will pursue further actions.
> Your views are wrong and you should not be placing them on others, especially younger
> people who don't understand the meaning and take it to their hearts.
>
> Christopher Leymen
> Toronto, Ontario



> I can't even believe how completely fucked up your "Appetite" issue [*Adbusters #44*] is.
> Do you realize that fat people have to live in a world where we are hated and not seen as
> real people who deserve love, respect, decency?
>
> Femmevatale

September 11 will not be remembered as the end days of American empire. It will be remembered as the beginning.

I am one of the 25 filmmakers that you recently referred to as lining up to become a "big-time sellout" [*Adbusters* #47]. As a reader of your publication and a proud owner of one of your Corporate America flags, I was totally insulted by your lambasting of my already difficult career as a filmmaker.

It seems that lazy, uneducated and very yellow journalism has once again gotten the best of you guys. If you had half a brain in your childish heads, you would have had the sense to at least interview one of us struggling filmmakers to get our take on the situation. You would have found, much to your chagrin, that we were just as taken aback and annoyed by Chrysler's presentation as you were.

I love how you guys make it seem like a mortal sin to make a living at what you want to do – as if the fact that I'm a part of a stupid contest that might actually help my career, I'm a sellout. No wonder us leftists are powerless in this country. All our efforts are being run by ignorant and naive idealists who haven't a clue as to how the world really works.

You guys keep making your little videos and preaching to the choir of young rich kids who hate their parents. Eventually, when I'm rich enough to support a revolutionary organization, you can bet it won't be yours.

MATT GOLDMAN
<www.brokefilms.com>

David Orr's espousal of the Amish as almost "sustainable" is unfortunate ["Here is What We Know," *Adbusters* #46]. They mandate sexism and ignorance. They drop out of school in the eighth grade, lest education breed pride. They are Marx's workers' community, but with the cretinism that industrialization was supposed to enforce. See the documentary *Devil's Playground*, and hear the Amish fetishize and covet cars and car-culture.

W.S. BOWERS
By email

Your magazine just keeps getting better. Dare I say I'm addicted? I wanted to point out a few things, though. Whether it's art, criticism or observation, you have shown female nudes in several issues. Which is fine, but are we afraid to look at the male body? Let's try to have this be one magazine that breaks away from the consumptive "male gaze."

ANONYMOUS

I know it's your job, but your current issue ["Nightmares of Reason," *Adbusters* #47] pushes "anti-brand" to a level that lumps you in the category of

OPERATION IRAQI FREEDOM, 2003

CULTURAL REVOLUTION IS OUR BUSINESS

We are a loose global network of artists, writers, environmentalists, ecological economists, media-literacy teachers, reborn Lefties, ecofeminists, downshifters, high school shit-disturbers, campus rabble-rousers, incorrigibles, malcontents and green entrepreneurs. We are idealists, anarchists, guerrilla tacticians, pranksters, neo-Luddites, poets, philosophers and punks. Our aim is to topple existing power structures and forge a major rethinking of the way we will live in the 21st century.We want to change the way information flows, the way institutions wield power, the way the world keeps the peace, the way the food, fashion, automobile, sports, music and culture industries set their agendas. Above all, we want to change the way we interact with the mass media and the way in which meaning is produced in our society.

FIND OUT MORE
Visit the Culture Jammers Campaign Headquarters.
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We are a non-profit organization that welcomes donations and grants in the following areas:
- To help *Adbusters* grow into an activist journal available on newsstands around the world.
- To help us launch and sustain our social marketing campaigns.
- To help us pay for our legal battles.
- To help us uncool Brand America.

Please support our work: Donate online at www.adbusters.org /information /donate
In the US write a check to Tides Foundation/Media Foundation and send it to the above address.
In Canada and overseas write a check to Adbusters Media Foundation. For more information, contact Lara Honrado: 604.736.9401 or lara@adbusters.org.

"fashion-whore," alongside all the latte-sipping, Gap-wearing (sub)urbanites you despise. I could point out examples (machine gun in the face of Ronald McDonald?) but it is more an editorial tone that I could feel viscerally. I am concerned when I pick up *Adbusters* and discern "ad creep" within. Urgency must not become militancy, for that will destroy us. Remember to bring us change, not destruction.

ETHAN TIMM
New York, New York

I support many of your ideas, but your Boycott Brand America campaign worries me. This boycott is veiled in anti-American tones. I don't mean just against the global corporate monsters, but against each and every citizen in the United States. This is a short-sighted scheme that I cannot support. I know the US has done horrible things against other nations in the world, but I do have faith in my country.

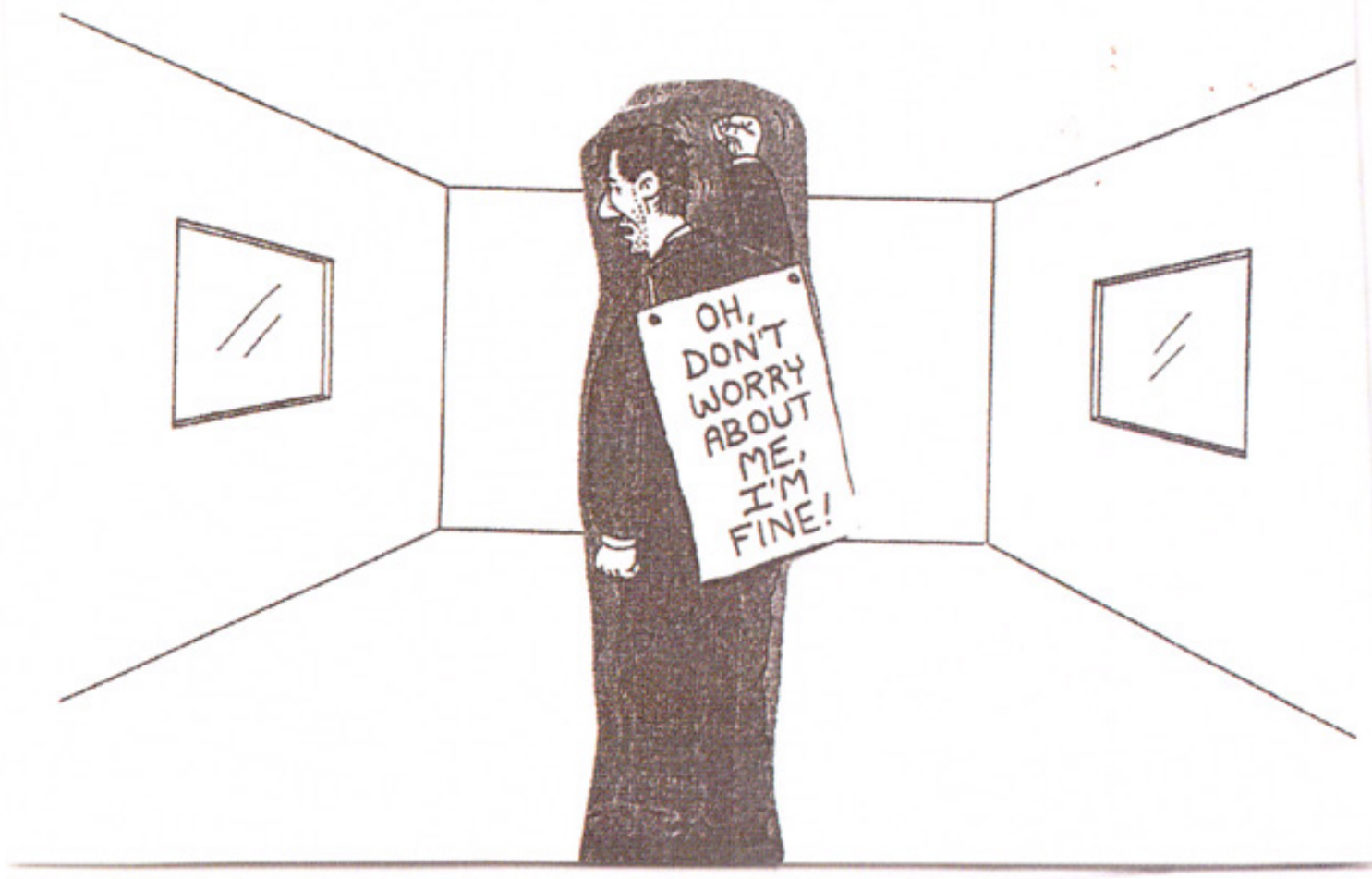
CRAIG
By email

My wife and I have two children – a baby and a very, very active two-year old. Like most parents, we used the television as a parenting tool; it gave us extra time to cook dinner, relax and generally operate without a child under foot. Then we agreed to abandon our crutch, and go without TV for a week.

Miraculously, our house was silent again. My two-year-old, no longer needing to compete with blaring commercials, spoke softly. Toys were soon liberated from their scattered stockpiles, books appeared open on the floor and calmness entered our house for the first time in years. We discovered that when on, the television turned off our daughter's mind; when it was off she was turned on at full volume. Our parenting aide was actually our parenting curse, causing behavioral problems hours after Bambi went bye-bye. All parents need this experiment. Maybe your Ritalin baby needs a balanced diet and a calm, quiet house, not a pill.

LARRY BRECKENRIDGE
Denver, Colorado

I don't watch TV, but I watch other people watch TV. People should try it. Note the glassy stares and listless expressions – clapping, laughing, showing shock . . . all on cue. A close friend of mine found a TV Turnoff Week poster tacked up at a high school in Davis, California. She was so happy she sent it to me with



'OH DON'T WORRY' ARTIST UNKNOWN. PLEASE CONTACT ADBUSTERS FOR CREDIT

the note, "If high school kids are excited enough by *Adbusters* to poster their school with 'no-television week,' there may be hope after all."

DAVID KURZMAN
Vacaville, California

Monday, April 21, heralded the start of my cold-turkey abstinence from television. No problem, I thought. After all, I don't watch that much TV. But everyone says that. If I add up the minutes, it's more than I would swear to. Taking it away suddenly is a shock to the system.

By Tuesday, I was getting antsy. The Toronto Maple Leafs were into the heat of the playoffs and I discovered there's no AM radio reception in my apartment. I got out the celery and carrot sticks to keep my hands occupied – got to keep them away from the remote. On Wednesday, Manchester United was playing Real Madrid. Life is so cruel! Who the hell picked this week and why do I have to play along? I read. I went through my bureau, weeding out things that I no longer need. On Thursday night, there was a classic film being shown that I've never seen but always meant to. My wife and I had dinner conversation and did our taxes.

By Friday, I had become immune to the jibes of my friends, who insisted that I'd lost my mind, brainwashed by kooks into participating in a ridiculous exercise. "Think for yourself. Who says it's TV Turnoff Week? Why deny yourself meaningful experiences just to prove an insignificant point? Are you allowed to watch a video, a DVD, play a video game? What if your dad was being interviewed on TV – you wouldn't watch?" I'm not quite an outcast, but my erratic behavior has been noted and it's not approved of.

The weekend passed without television separation anxiety. I tuned up the bicycle, did some spring cleaning. At the pub, the TVs along the walls didn't hold my attention. I got to bed Sunday night having missed my customary *60 Minutes* or *The Simpsons*.

This marks 168 hours without TV. Not a long time, really. It was

FOUR FA/18 FIGHTER PLANES FLY OVER THE SEASON OPENER IN ANAHEIM, CALIFORNIA, MARCH 30, 2003

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JOURNAL OF THE MENTAL ENVIRONMENT

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NEW LEAF PAPER

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refreshing, yes, but there was no dramatic transformation. I didn't become a better person. I didn't have an epiphany. I didn't write a novel or perform good works in my community. All the same, it was worth it.

MARCUS TAMM
Toronto, Ontario

TV Turnoff Week? No problem – I don't own one. But what about my time away from home? Sides of highways, buildings and chairs at the airport; cafeterias, lobbies, waiting rooms, hallways and gyms. Bowling alleys, pool halls, diners, bars and restaurants. I thought I had it rough until I went to my mother's place. Television dominates their lives. Five sets for four people. Only one person knows the freedom of not having one in their bedroom. But shed no tears – she has her own TV room.

GARY H.
By email

The weirdest thing happened today in school. We knew we were going to have a substitute (our regular teacher had gone off to the opera). I walked into class and sat down, but the sub never came. We all remained silent and focused on whatever it was we were doing. Suddenly I had an impulse. "This is ridiculous. Why are we all just sitting here? Shouldn't we be tearing the class apart or something? Burning books?" I got a couple of courtesy laughs, but mostly just stares of surprise at my ghastly violation of unspoken social etiquette. Someone suggested we watch TV. Every classroom in the school has a new TV, but old textbooks that are falling apart. There was a murmur of agreement. Someone turned on the TV. We found a station we liked. And suddenly, the weirdest thing happened. People started talking to each other: about what was on TV, about their day, about everything. I went out in the hall and did math homework. It wasn't the kind of book burning I originally had in mind.

JOSH TANE
St. Paul, Minnesota

I teach at a school here in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and one of our student groups decided to publicize TV Turnoff Week at school – fliers, announcements, student debates. One of my students took our fliers home and taped them on all the TVs in her house. Her father works for the local ABC affiliate. Total chaos – looks like my work here is done, right? But no. He sent a camera crew to the school today and interviewed me (should have gotten the students – they have the power), and so TV Turnoff Week will actually be getting coverage on the five o'clock news. The anti-media event becomes a media event. The world on its head. Of course, none of us will be tuned in to watch it.

WILLIAM MONTGOMERY
Chattanooga, Tennessee

I found some TV Turnoff coloring projects for kids – prepared by the people at Crayola (www.crayola.com).

JOYA PERRICK
North Vancouver, British Columbia

POSTER FROM A STUDENT CAMPAIGN IN CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE, SUBMITTED BY TEACHER WILLIAM MONTGOMERY

KRT / PATRICK SCHNEIDER

In the marketing world, they're known as "tinys." At just six months of age, babies are already forming mental images of corporate logos. One in four children utters a brand name as their first recognizable word.

It's easier to turn on the television and watch some shitty, lame, brain-dead, pseudo-comedic sitcom than it is to think about the world around you – and to think about the part you'll play in it. It's easie to hit the drive-thru on your way home from work than it is to think about what it is you're supporting every time you pull out your wallet. It's easier to go to the mall and buy some new clothes to give you some artificial, bullshit, materialistic joy than it is to think about what you're doing to make a difference every day. Why? Because it's easier to buy things to make you feel better than it is for you to *do* things to make you feel better. I think it all stems from this. I think drugs and drinking stem from this. Society's obsession with fast cars, huge homes, fatty food, trendy fashion – all of it – stems from this.

PAUL GRESCH
Mississauga, Ontario

He stands in front of me. Right there, in my face. Blunt hatred, raging loathing boils in my bones, muscles, veins and mind. His red gleaming eyes reflect the fire in mine. Silence burns our nerves as we hold in the air that puffs out our chests. Bare and imperious, the curves of our chests, at that moment, are impervious to daggers. The hair on our arms is sharp and erect. Fury breathes from our vapor as we sweat. My nostrils strain to maintain my ferocity. I will not relinquish any of my might, not even my air. We feed history to our fires. Every past incident, every forgotten moment, blazes on our sneering lips. Our cutting eyebrows, honed and greased, pull closer and closer. I can hear the pulse in my veins, on my temples, wrists and ankles. In the still of the moment, the time between each beat is a life.

The first trace of a sweat burns a line from my temple to hang on my chin, and then falls to explode on the concrete. The tension draws us closer, with my forehead now almost touching his. My muscles contract. My nails carve crescents into my palms as I hold a fist. I pull it back; I turn my body and –

Click. Change the channel.

LEO KAZITSKY
By email

SOURCES: BMRB (UK), VANCOUVER SUN

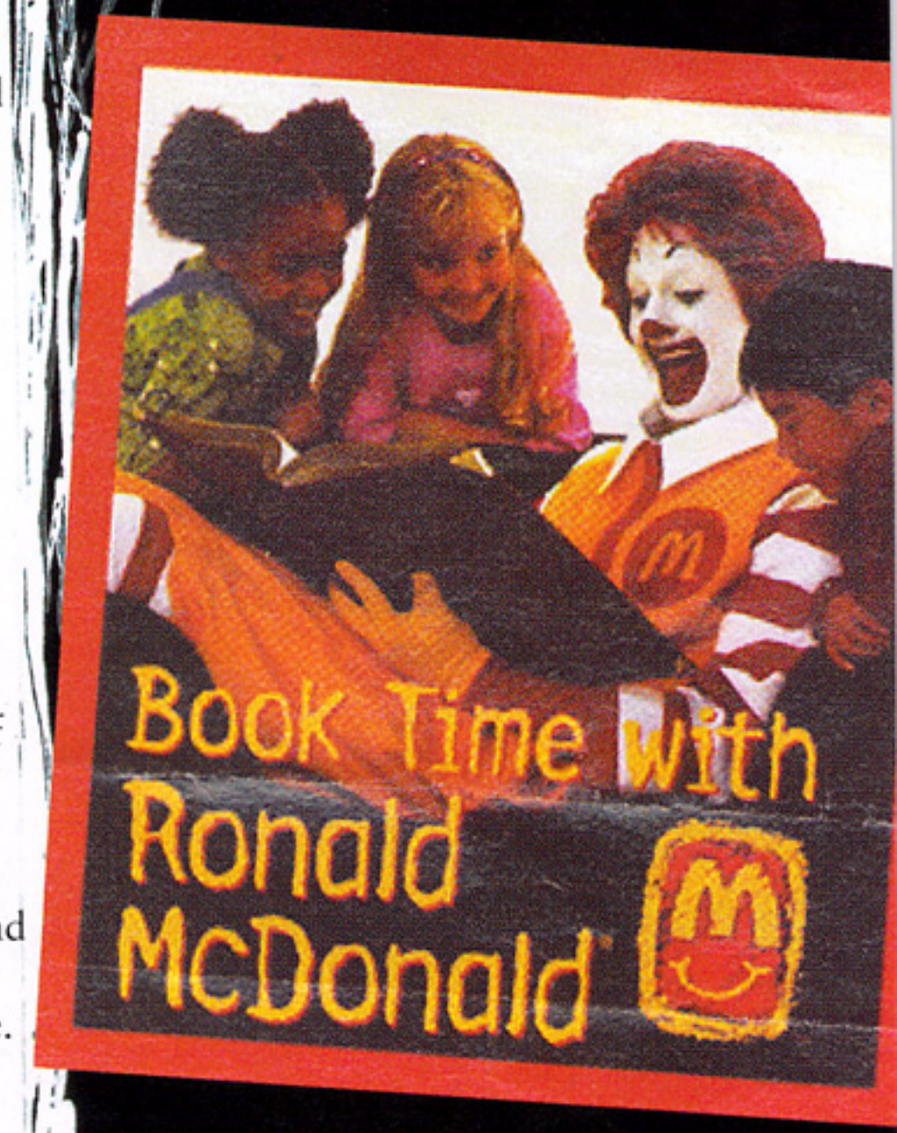
COURTNEY OTTE, 5, AT FREEDOM PARK, CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA, SEPT 22, 2001

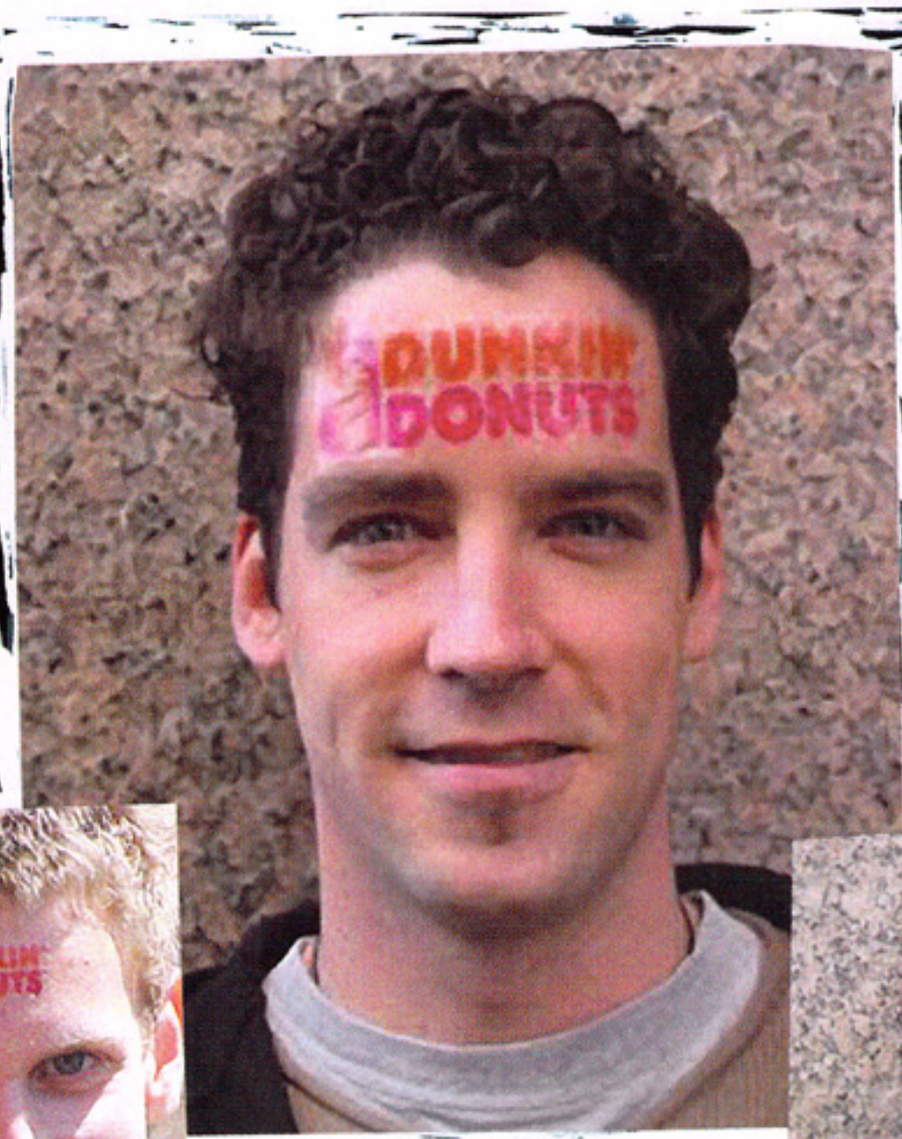
Desperate to ward off total brand freefall, McDonald's Restaurants is going back to basics. "It's Book Time with Ronald McDonald" combines the golden arches with marketing to kids and ad-creep in schools for an axis of evil that comes approved by "top elementary education experts." At no charge, teachers in America's cash-strapped schools can call in Mickey D's clown-for-hire for a mix of music, magic, puppets and PR. By the end of the show, kids are inspired to set aside time to read. That's "Book Time." Then comes "Snack Time" – hey, kid, don't forget your coupon.

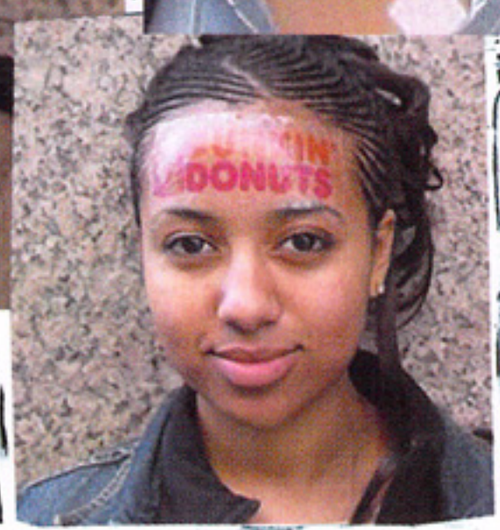
The city that Disneyfied its own heart – Times Square – has just appointed its first CMO ("chief marketing officer"). The job description isn't yet clear, but city residents are nervously joking about renaming Brooklyn as "Budweiser" as they brace for commercial saturation. Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg says the city won't sell out at quite that scale, but will sell naming and sponsorship rights to lesser landmarks, and will lend the Brand NYC stamp of approval to select products. "The City That Never Sleeps"? Try a new motto: The City That Desperately, Desperately Needs to Wake Up.

How far will a mega-brand go to protect its copyright? Welcome to Masset, a village of 700 on the Haida Gwaii islands off Canada's North Pacific coast. There, four young men from the Haida native band – "bucks," in local slang – opened a café called HaidaBucks. Then came the letter from Starbucks lawyers claiming that the indy café's name "results in a clear association with our clients' trademark." It's going to court, and the HaidaBucks are promising to fight rather than let an overeager corporation "enjoy another hundred-dollar cigar and a glass of fine cognac as they plot their next massacre. Follow the action at <www.haidabuckscafe.com>.

Ever find yourself watching a really swell bit of television – a promo for a new pastry, say – and then *zip!* you're back in a dull world of characters, plot development or news? Fret no longer: the all-advertising channel Ad Choice will soon be available in the UK. While some may take this as a sign of the apocalypse, there is a more optimistic interpretation: think of Ad Choice as the last hurrah before TV commercials are made extinct by ad-skipping and program-on-demand technologies.







Yellow alert: guerrilla marketers, on assignment for a certain large corporation, are currently targeting college students across America. They may attempt to brand you, take your photo, and post your face on the web. And how do you remove your temporary tattoo? Here's a suggestion: try a little brainwash.

Keeping track of musical trends isn't easy. Does Busta Rhymes prefer Lexus or Land Rover? Are the Grammy-winners drinking Bacardi rum or Armadale vodka? At last, a marketing firm has stepped up to start tracking what matters most in the biz: brand power. LucJam, Inc. keeps a running tally – called American Brandstand – of product references in pop music's top 20 charts. For the week of May 17, for example, 23 products are named, from 50 Cent's shout-outs to Benz, Bentley and Burger King in the #2 single "21 Questions" to Snoop Dogg's reference to his own clothing line in his #11 tune "Beautiful." ("Snoop Dogg Clothing, that's what I'm groomed in / You got my pictures on the wall in your room-in / *Oh-hooo!*"). As hip-hop pioneer Chuck D says, "Fifteen years ago, rappers rapped for the people, whereas today they rap and rep for their companies, because money dictates the direction." *Oh-hooo.*

Minneapolis alternative rock station Drive 105 is tapping into the indy mindset with its new promo campaign. "This station is not owned or operated by Clear Channel Communications," the station boasts – a reference to the reviled communications giant that owns some 1,225 radio stations and 39 TV stations in the US, and about a zillion outdoor ad displays. One problem: Drive 105 is owned by ABC Radio, a subsidiary of Disney – one of the largest corporations on the planet.

The new shock-and-awe wars don't last long enough to launch a music counterculture – unless it's on the internet. Sonic Youth's Thurston Moore started a virtual record label, Protest Records (http://protest-records.com/), posting free downloadable antiwar songs and poems by the Beastie Boys, Anne Waldman, Chumbawamba, Eugene Chadbourne, Tropicalia founder Tom Zé, Christian Marclay, Cat Power, Mudhoney and others. The site also offers stencil designs by Chris Habib, like the all-purpose "Bush and Bones" logo.

Here's something we don't see everyday: a scrap between two pop princesses over – wait for it – principle. When Madonna canned an antiwar video out of "sensitivity and respect" to US troops in Iraq, she got blasted by a fellow pop diva. Shakira, who projected images of Bush and Saddam Hussein as puppets during her recent tour, said, "I'd expect a little more backbone from Madonna. Good pop music is always political in times of crisis." Madonna is getting even less respect for her attempt to thwart illegal downloads of her album *American Life* – she released decoy mp3s that carried only her voice sneering, "What the fuck do you think you're doing?" Dozens of trance, house and techno remix of Madonna's tsk-tsking have appeared on sites around the world, and DMusic (http://boycott.dmusic.com) is holding a contest for the best recording. "Planned or not, it's the kind of free-range collaboration the Internet was made for," declared the the *New York Times*.

The day is coming when you won't be able to hear The Rolling Stones without picturing a Microsoft computer, a Ford truck . . . or the Sheraton Hotel chain, which is spending $10-million on an ad campaign that includes licensed rights to the Stones' "Let's Spend the Night Together." No one's shocked to see another cherished classic used to shill for brand-name profits, but only the advertising jingle-writers know just how far the rock-and-roll swindle has gone. According to the Association of Music Producers, so many bands and artists are now willing to sell their tunes for use in ads that the jingle business in New York – a $150-million industry – was down by 25 percent last year.

The label "sellout" used to sting. Now "ka-ching" is more like it. Acts like Phil Collins and Dirty Vegas proudly sticker their CDs with slogans such as, "Includes the new hit single 'Can't Stop Loving You' featured in the new Toyota Avalon commercial." One band that might have jammed the trend is Ween. Signed on by Pizza Hut last year to come up with a jingle for their new cheese-in-the-crust pizza, Ween offered six tunes. The Hut rejected all of them, including a rock-funk groove that crests at the lyrics, "Where'd the motherfucking cheese go?"

Where'd the motherfucking art go? A Spanish artificial intelligence company says they've stumbled onto a fail-safe hitmaking formula. Polyphonic HMI's "Hit Song Science" analyzed every song from the last five years' Billboard top 30 for factors including melody, beat, harmony, pitch, octave and timbre. Studying the data clusters, they claim they can predict the popularity of an unreleased song by comparing it to past chart-toppers. Sound silly? Maybe. But Hit Song Science accurately predicted the success of octuple Grammy winner Norah Jones. Sony, RCA and Universal (UK) have already signed on.

Paul Schmelzer

at the mall ... i ~~blanced~~ glanced up from my writing and connected with a small boy in a stroller. the despair in his ~~eyey~~ eyes mirrored the despair in mine. he doesnt want a new toy ... he wants a snowball fight, he wants to be outside sledding, and if he knew what i know he would want a fair chance at freedom and happiness. he will never have a chance.

if we were really free the malls would be empty.

PETROL
UNLEADED
139 9
MIDGRADE
147 9
SUPER UNLEADED
155 9
K-1 KEROSENE
105 9
DIESEL
144 9

AMY GIONTA

America won the arms race.

Now only nuclear weapons and

terror get any respect.

US MARINES, LEBANON

PHOTOS: DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

AMERICA WAGES WAR AT A TIME AND A PLACE OF ITS OWN CHOOSING. AT US CENTRAL Command in Tampa, Florida, battle planners make the morning commute and bring distant nations to their knees. Between mouse clicks, a precision-guided cruise missile screams off the deck of a destroyer cruising the Persian Gulf, and the bay doors of a B-2 bomber yawn ordnance onto a bunker in Afghanistan.

As recently as Vietnam, things weren't so elegant. Spy as the CIA might on Hanoi, the Air Force's old "dumb" bombs fell miles from their targets and killed more civilians than soldiers. GIs hit the ground to find themselves crawling around the napalmed jungle with an enemy who was far from degraded, at enormous cost in American lives.

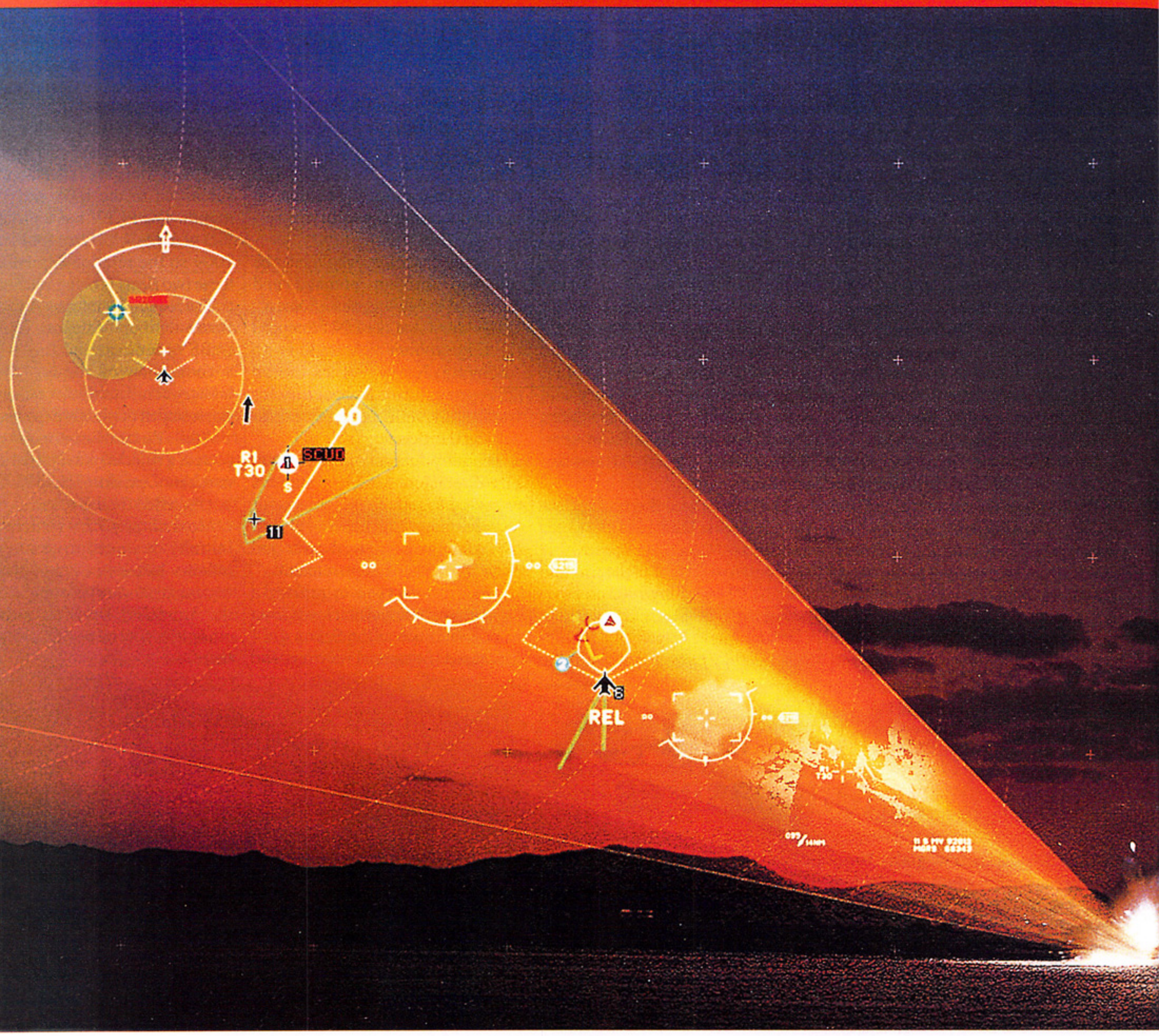
That all changed when George Bush Sr. liberated Kuwait in '91 – the world's first wired war. Ten years later, men at desks now orchestrate the shock-and-awe assaults that smash foreign armies with pinpoint accuracy. Perpetual satellite intelligence, lightning-speed deployment and massive firepower make resistance unthinkable. Hostile regimes fall with few US casualties, then CENTCOM hits "send" and the Marines move in to win hearts and minds. It's victory by laptop, with the world's most elite band of soldiers home in time for dinner.

A TOMAHAWK LAND ATTACK MISSILE, LAUNCHED FROM THE GUIDED MISSILE DESTROYER *USS WINSTON S. CHURCHILL*, MARCH 23, 2003

MC-130E COMBAT TALON I

US COMBINED AIR OPERATIONS CENTER, ARABIAN PENINSULA

Precision Engagement



The battlefield is changing. Targets are harder to get to. They're more lethal than ever. They move. They hide. They jam. The kill chain needs to be shorter, more precise, and more integrated to ensure success in tomorrow's conflicts.

Our team of dedicated professionals understands how to get far more from 21st century precision engagement systems. Our suite of products and hands-on integration provide enabling capabilities that cover the entire battlespace. With fully integrated mission solutions that ensure superiority, we deliver the right effect, on the right target, at the right time.

Raytheon, your Precision Engagement partner.

FROM *JANE'S DEFENCE WEEKLY*

Raytheon

Customer Success Is Our Missi

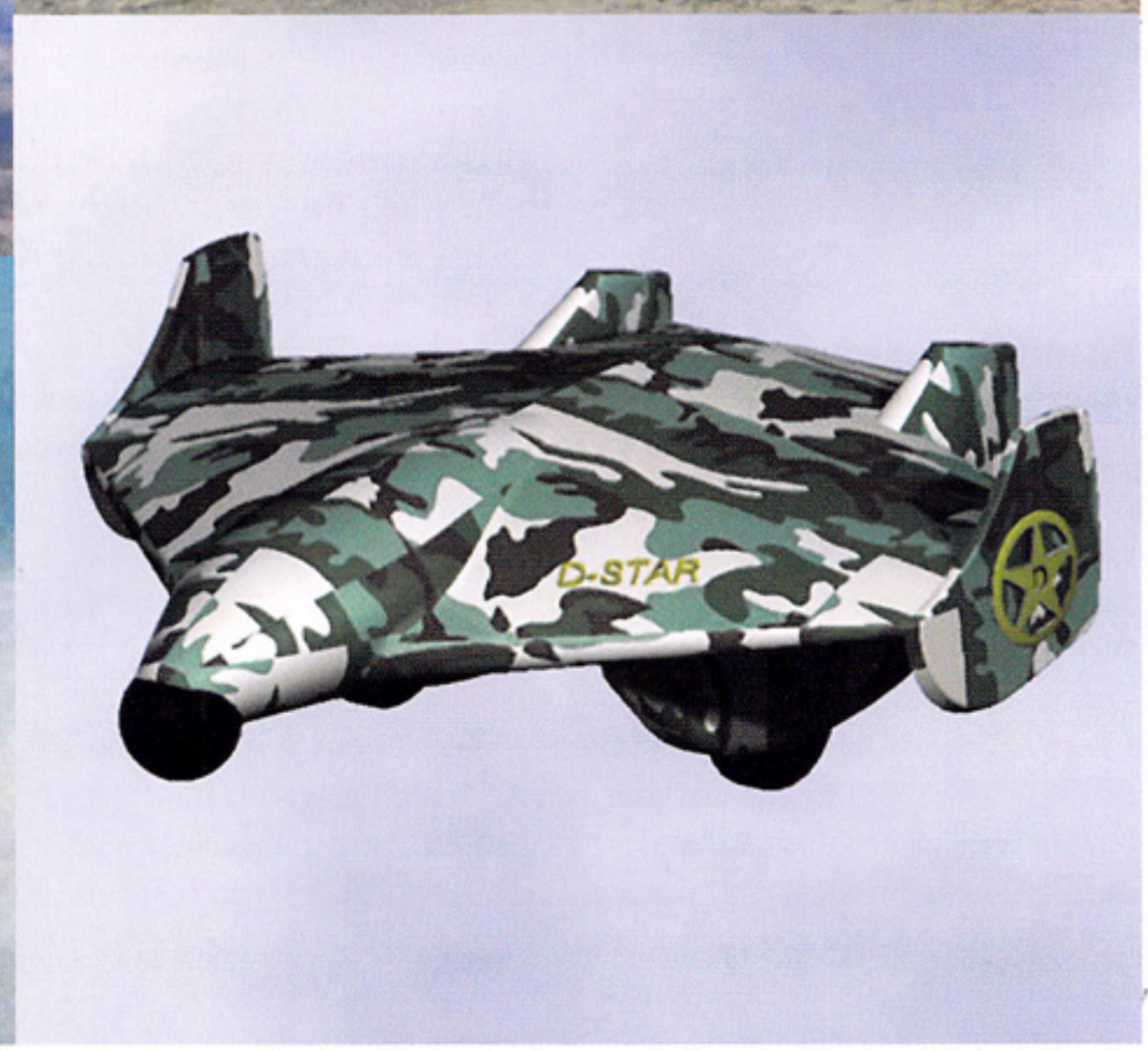
"THIS NATION DOES NOT DEPEND ON THE DECISIONS OF others," said President Bush in January's State of the Union address. And why should it? The United States didn't assume dominance of world affairs with anyone's permission. Since the end of the Cold War, it's stuck with the plan to thwart – and smite when necessary – any government or organization that opposes the export of American-style democracy and free enterprise.

Nor is America afraid to put money on those cherished beliefs. Last year alone, the Department of Defense spent around $400 billion to keep its forces combat-ready, which is why it has (count 'em) nine super-aircraft-carrier battle groups, a host of next-generation fighter planes and stealth bombers, 9,000-plus M1 Abrams tanks, a standing army of 1.4 million, some 12,000 nuclear warheads and the world's most advanced military intelligence. Other nations may have more troops (or, in the case of crumbled Russia, more nukes), but the discussion ends there. None can match the reach, sophistication and dynamic impact of the American fighting machine.

With recent victories in Afghanistan and Iraq, the US is expanding its physical influence in the middle ground between Europe and East Asia. Military bases are essential to the running of an empire, and as the US pulls out of Saudi Arabia, the newly liberated Iraqi people must be aware that Germany and Japan have hosted their conqueror for decades. But Iraq, in fact, is already in the past. The question now is whether forward bases will extend to Syria, Iran or North Korea, or perhaps to a geopolitical surprise like Venezuela. The global network of outposts has many fringe benefits, among them Cuba's Guantánamo Bay, an unlikely but ideal repository for enemies of the United States.

A nation this strong and prosperous doesn't need to keep its ambitions secret. Joint Vision 2020, freely available on the internet, outlines in considerable detail the Department of Defense plan to "create a force that is dominant across the full spectrum of military operations – persuasive in peace, decisive in war, preeminent in any form of conflict." Then there's the widely disseminated Rebuilding America's Defenses, published by the Project for the New American Century, whose members include Vice President Dick Cheney and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld. "At present the United States faces no global rival," the authors write. "America's grand strategy should aim to preserve and extend this advantageous position as far into the future as possible."

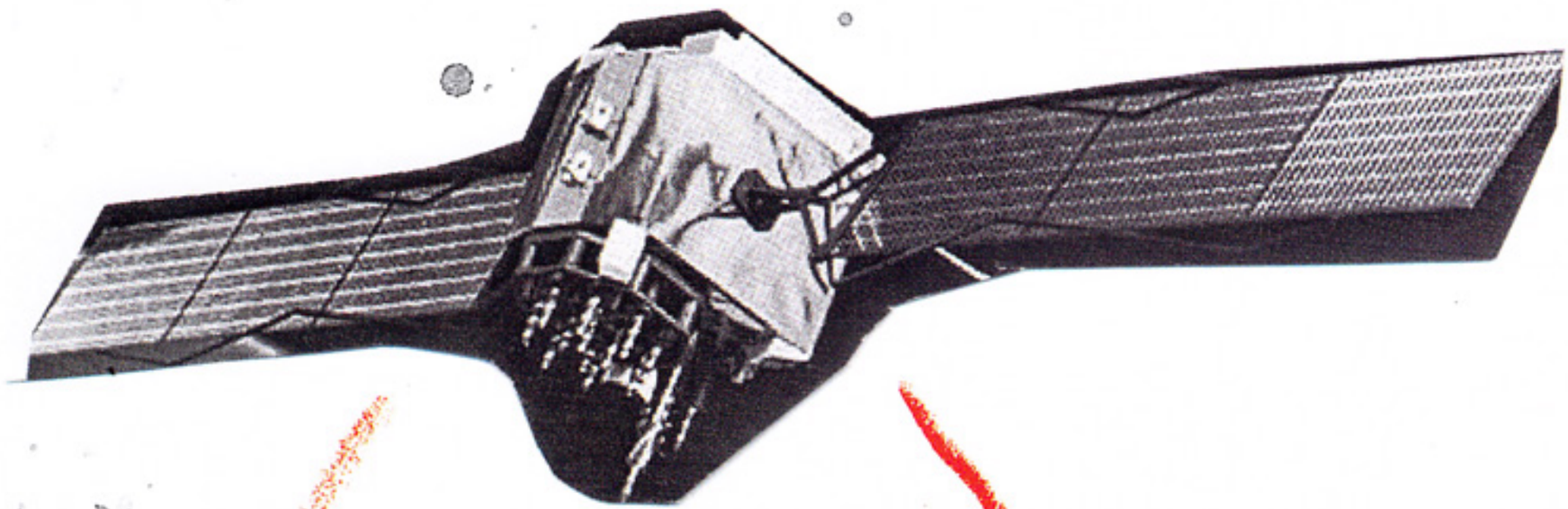
It's the language of war, but the endgame is peace: a world calmed by a single power operating at an intellectual, organizational and technical zenith. There are those who believe this is a new and frightening path for America to follow, and who try to look backward to gentler times. In reply, there is John F. Kennedy. "Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to ensure the survival and the success of liberty."



TWENTY-FIVE BILLION DOLLARS IN RESEARCH SPENDING PAID off last November, when a remote-controlled Predator drone aircraft destroyed a car in the Yemeni desert containing six suspected al-Qaeda members. But it's early days for the Pentagon's growing roster of unmanned vehicle systems, which already includes the high-flying Global Hawk reconnaissance plane and MATILDA, a miniature tank-like robot that can pack everything from a fiber-optic reel to a rocket launcher. The Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA), the US Air Force and Boeing are testing the X45-A aircraft, an unmanned combat vehicle designed for missions no pilot should have to attempt. And earlier this year, DARPA and the US Army showed off two prototypes of unmanned combat ground vehicles. Both are essential elements of the Future Combat Systems program – an audacious blend of man and machine with computers doing much of the driving. In turn, Future Combat Systems is a key element of the all-new US military, known as Objective Force and due on the battlefield in 2008. The art of war as artificial intelligence: it makes a lot of people uncomfortable. But so does a body in a casket covered by a flag.

WWW.AUVSI.ORG

CONTROL OF SPACE
THE NEW GLOBAL PANOPTICON



WE OWN THE NIGHT. AMERICA IS THE only nation that can make this boast, thanks to an impressive fleet of spy satellites operated by the US National Reconnaissance Office. Those orbiting eyes gave the Pentagon round-the-clock "force enhancement" during the recent war with Iraq, and they're just the beginning of a strategy for control of the so-called international commons. If space-based weapons get the go-ahead and satellite surveillance continues to improve, the rest of the world could find itself living in a global panopticon, with Death Ray USA a powerful incentive for rogue states not to get caught misbehaving.

Discredited as a sci-fi fantasy during the Reagan years, the weaponization of space got real again when President Bush started talking missile defense. Last October, US Strategic Command – which controls American nuclear forces – merged with US Space Command, overseer of the Pentagon's information operations and its extraterrestrial bootprint. To Washington, space is a place like any other, and you have to put a stake in the ground before the next guy does.

Of course, that doesn't preclude an arms race in space as America works toward its goal of a "forward presence" during peacetime and total domination during war. But US defenses are already out of this world, and you know the old saying. Power abhors a vacuum. — *Malcolm Roswell*

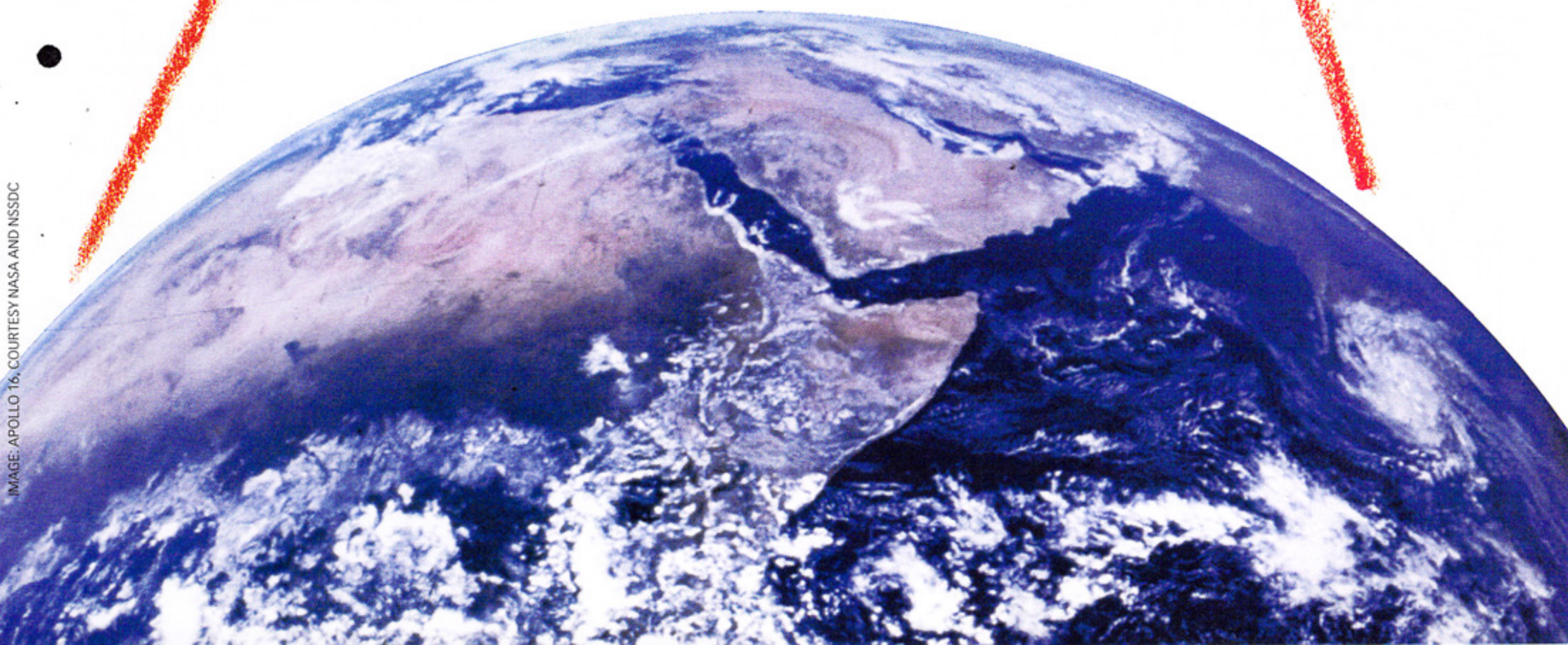
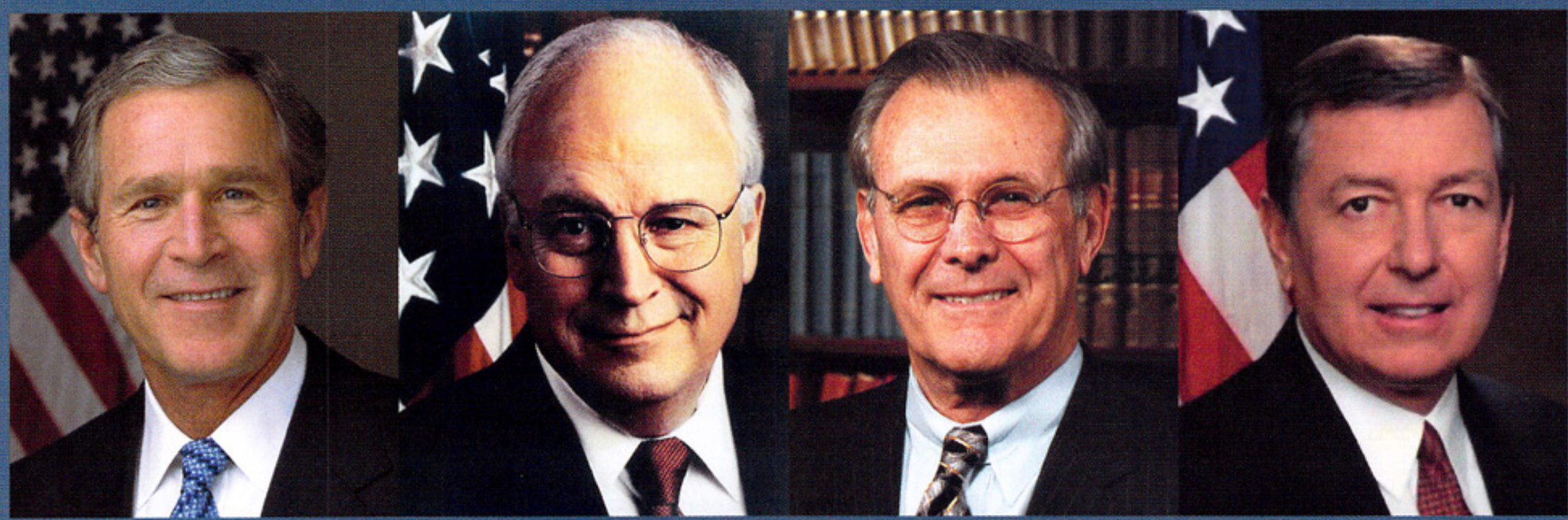


IMAGE: APOLLO 16, COURTESY NASA AND NSSDC

Project for the New American Century



THEY, TOO, HAD THEIR SUMMER OF LOVE. IT WAS 1969, and two grad students met in Washington, DC. Paul Wolfowitz was a young mathematician turned political scientist, a gawky kid from Ithaca, New York, who was shielded from the Vietnam draft while studying for his PhD. He joined Richard Perle on the staff of Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson. There was a chemical spark, and history set a course for the politics of perpetual war.

Scoop Jackson was a hawkish Democrat who wanted a more aggressive American foreign policy than the one overseen by Henry Kissinger, whom he saw as cynically pragmatic if not amoral. A major component of President Richard Nixon's foreign policy in the early 1970s was the improvement of relations with the Soviets, referred to as "détente." Jackson, Perle and Wolfowitz saw détente as a strategic error – a sign of weakness – and they advocated a more confrontational approach. Perle would later explain that their goal was "to re-establish a set of objectives that was aimed at victory in the Cold War, rather than ending it by accommodation."

As Jackson's chief assistant from 1969 to 1980, Perle became one of Washington's most powerful Cold War warriors. He also established himself as doyen of a swelling network of Washington insiders who favored an unprecedented projection of US military might, not only to protect national security, but because of a moral obligation to export American values. They would come to be known as the "neo-conservatives."

While Perle was the political operator, Paul Wolfowitz spent the '70s as a policy wonk, climbing the bureaucratic ladders in the State Department and Department of Defense. In 1976 he was tapped by George Bush Sr., then director of the CIA, to join the influential "Team B." The group was formed in response to criticism that the intelligence agency was underestimating Soviet military capacity. The Team B findings greatly overestimated the Soviets' nuclear-strike capabilities, but their conclusions would go on to help stimulate the massive, trillion-dollar arms race of President Ronald Reagan.

It was during those years that the neo-cons began to shine. They had a well-defined enemy, and a president who was inclined to see foreign policy through a similar lens. Perle became assistant defense secretary and, as Reagan's point man on arms control, earned the moniker "Prince of Darkness." He and Wolfowitz were particularly pleased with Reagan's characterization of the Soviet Union as the "evil empire" in 1983. Perle thought it was a historical turning point: "I don't believe the Cold War could've been won without that moral ideological offensive. That's the single most important thing Ronald Reagan did."

By the end of the 1980s the neo-cons were well represented in the Pentagon. With the election of Bush Sr., however, they found themselves under a president operating with less gusto and more attention to world sentiment. The critical piece of evidence came at the end of Gulf War I. Despite recommendations by Wolfowitz, who was then an undersecretary of defense, the tanks that rolled into Iraq fell far short of toppling Baghdad.

In Bush's final year in office, Wolfowitz produced a forward-looking memo entitled "Defense Policy Guidance 1992-94." He advocated preemptive attacks, a beefed-up military budget to ensure American domination, and "the pre-eminent responsibility for addressing selectively those wrongs which threaten not only our interests, but those of our allies or friends." Included in the paper was an illustrative, hypothetical war against Iraq. The leaked memo caused a minor scandal, however, and the language was softened before its official release.

GEORGE W. BUSH, RICHARD CHENEY, DONALD RUMSFELD, JOHN ASHCROFT

Then America itself went soft. Bill Clinton was elected to office, and the neo-cons retreated to their think tanks and private postings, releasing occasional dispatches into the real world. Wolfowitz wrote a spirited defense of his 1992 memo, arguing that US leadership entailed "demonstrating that your friends will be protected and taken care of, that your enemies will be punished and that those who refuse to support you will live to regret having done so." Perle, who had moved into the private sector, pushed forward a document called "A Clean Break," in which he counselled the Israeli government to scrap the peace process and ratchet up aggression toward Palestinians.

A new millennium was approaching, and America was booming. In 1997, political pundit Robert Kagan and William Kristol (editor of the *Weekly Standard* and former chief-of-staff for Vice President Dan Quayle) brought together the Project for the New American Century. PNAC attacked the "incoherent policies" of the Clinton administration, as well as jelly-kneed conservatives who "have not confidently advanced a strategic vision of America's role in the world." The PNAC statement of principles called for military build-up, preemptive attacks when necessary and the recognition of the American responsibility to lead the globe: "Such a Reaganite policy of military strength and moral clarity may not be fashionable today. But it is necessary if the United States is to build on the successes of this past century and to ensure our security and our greatness in the next."

Signatories of the PNAC statement are now familiar faces in the upper echelons of the Pentagon, the White House and the major media – they include Vice President Dick Cheney and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld. In 1998, many of the same names appeared on a PNAC letter addressed to Bill Clinton that urged a different strategy for dealing with Iraq, one that "should aim, above all, at the removal of Saddam Hussein's regime from power."

The following year a new face appeared in the neo-con crowd. Some might say that George W. Bush, with the fervor that characterizes the born-again Christian, gravitated toward a foreign policy that projected America's moral authority. Or perhaps the neo-cons had looked around for a vessel into which they might pour their ambitions, and found an amiable Texan with a folksy drawl and a platinum-card name. Whatever the genesis, by the lead-up to his presidential election, Bush was spending weekly sessions with "the Vulcans" – a team of neo-conservative advisors with Wolfowitz and Condoleeza Rice at its core. On December 12, 2000, the US Supreme Court preempted the Florida recount, and George W. Bush and his friends swept themselves into power.

Into power, but not into their moment in history. That would take a blue-sky morning in September 2001, when a president best known for spending time on his ranch would step forward and put his name to a doctrine of preemptive war. The strategy bore an unmistakable resemblance to the 1992 Wolfowitz memo, and it was only a matter of time before bombs fell on Baghdad.

What now? What lost, leaked memo can reveal the future of the next American century? Perhaps it's simpler to explain what is not on the agenda: multilateral treaties on land mines or greenhouse gases; the enforcement of international law; concern for the environment; protection of cultures and languages; global inequalities that see the average American making 100 times as much as citizens of poorer nations; the disease and starvation that wrack the developing world. It would be wrong to say that the neo-cons don't care. It would be better to say that priorities have changed.

KARL ROVE, PAUL WOLFOWITZ, RICHARD PERLE, WILLIAM KRISTOL

General MacArthur with Emperor Hirohito
Tokyo 1945

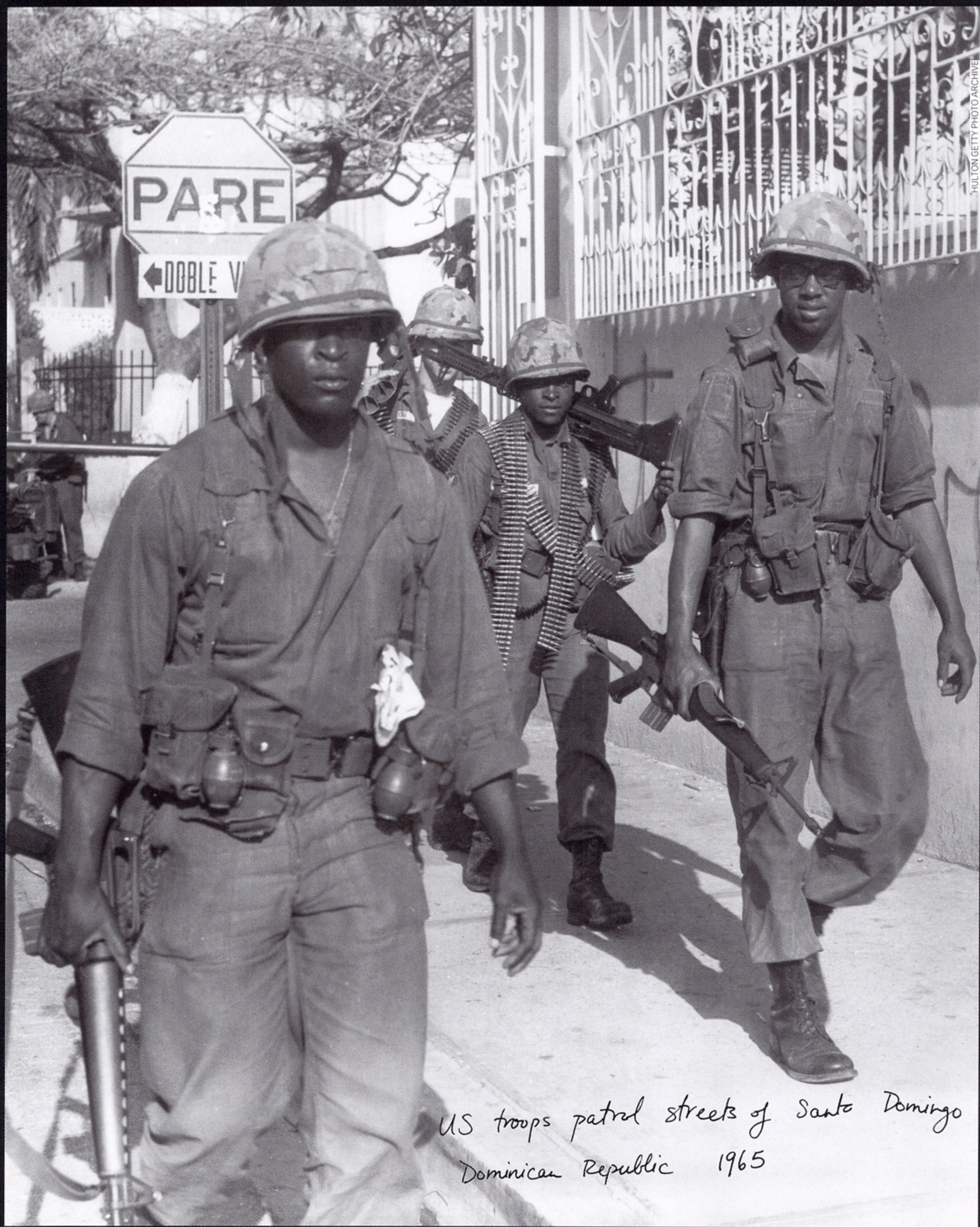
The Greatest Generation. Is there any more that needs to be said? The United States' entry into World War II turned the tide against the Axis, ending the Holocaust, freeing Europe from the Nazis and closing the book on imperial Japan. America's actions after the war have rested equally well in history. Occupying forces led by General Douglas MacArthur, in his role as postwar shogun, provided the stability Japan needed to re-democratize. In 1947, Secretary of State George C. Marshall announced a visionary plan to get European economies back on their feet. "Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine," he said, "but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos." World War II was America's first war of liberation.

HULTON/BETTMANN/CORBIS

American soldiers celebrate after liberation of Cherbourg 1944

French crowds cheer American troops as they enter Paris 1944

HULTON GETTY PHOTO ARCHIVE



US troops patrol streets of Santo Domingo
Dominican Republic 1965

MAGNUM / PHILIP JONES GRIFFITHS

Vietnam 1968

One war remained unfought at the end of World War II – the fight against the spread of communism. The French withdrawal from Vietnam left it open to the Reds, and America stepped into the breach. With Cuba lost, troops were sent to the Dominican Republic to put a lid on the left in the Western Hemisphere. The Sandinistas, who raised their rebel flag in Nicaragua in 1979, were made more dangerous by the fact that they had popular support and had deposed a notorious dictator. The US had to act obliquely, aiding and arming the Contra resistance (sometimes outside the purview of Congress) and mining Nicaragua's harbors (a choice of unilateral action over international law). The Domino Wars weren't pretty. But every one of them made sense on November 9, 1989, when the Berlin Wall fell and America won the Cold War.

Contra guerrillas Nicaragua 1980

US soldier guards entrance of Haiti's National Palace in Port-au-Prince / 1994

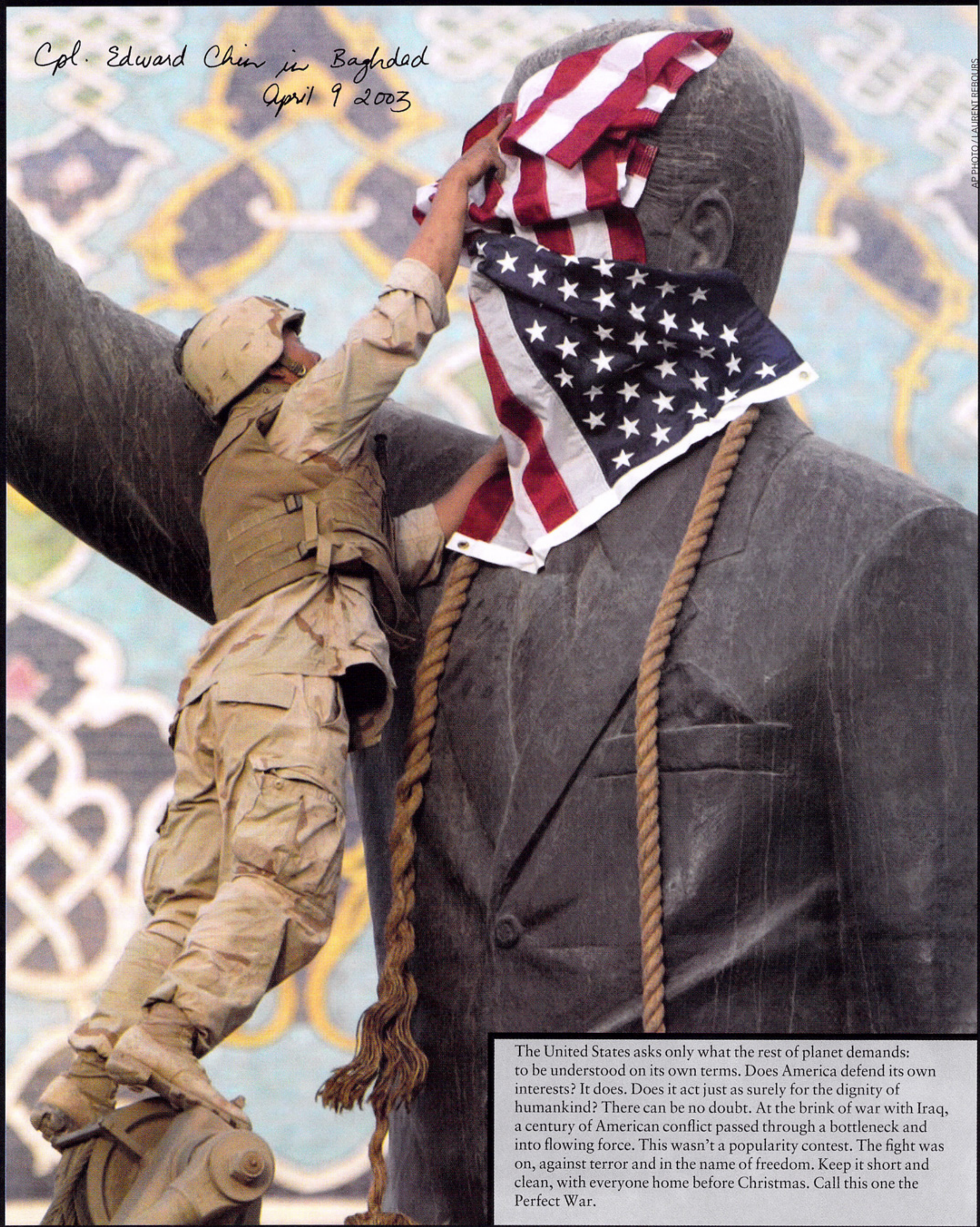
Grenada 1983

MAGNUM/CALEY WEBB

"Fish rot from the head," as the saying goes. The 1990s weren't even a week old before Operation Just Cause had toppled Manuel Noriega, the Panamanian dictator with bad skin and a series of indictments for drug-running. It wasn't war so much as a statement of power, and it set the stage for a new species of American military conflict: Humanitarian Intervention. A direct threat to America was no longer a precondition for war. US Marines surged onto a Mogadishu beach in December 1992 to confront the chaos and civil war that were tearing apart Somalia. American troops landed in Haiti to restore constitutional rule and the democratically elected president. And when reports of genocide rumbled out of Bosnia, America did not stand idly by. NATO airstrikes pushed aggressors to the negotiating table, where they signed the Dayton Accord. Yet America, too, was in trouble at the top. The Bosnian offensive came woefully late. Haiti is still a disaster today. Most emblematic of all, the US Armed Forces were scared out of Somalia in disarray. Intentions were good; sense of purpose had vanished.

US soldiers celebrate in Panama City after surrender of Noriega 1990

AP PHOTO/JOHN GAPS III



The United States asks only what the rest of planet demands: to be understood on its own terms. Does America defend its own interests? It does. Does it act just as surely for the dignity of humankind? There can be no doubt. At the brink of war with Iraq, a century of American conflict passed through a bottleneck and into flowing force. This wasn't a popularity contest. The fight was on, against terror and in the name of freedom. Keep it short and clean, with everyone home before Christmas. Call this one the Perfect War.

EVERY SPRING THE BULLS CHARGE DOWN THE NARROW ALLEYS of the Spanish town of Pamplona, their thousand-pound bodies careering around corners, hooves clattering across paving stones, and before them runs a handful of individuals who have overcome their fears and leapt into the moment. In this essay the bulls represent the US administration and the runners are all of the people who, like me, have stepped away from the anti-war camp to support the new American empire. We can still hear our old allies, chanting and waving their tear-soaked handkerchiefs – they are the ones behind the wooden barricades that line the alleys, and we remember when we wasted our time in the same safe places.

Our lieutenant – our ringleader, our polestar – is Michael Ignatieff, the director of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy at Harvard. His dispatches from the red zones of Bosnia, Rwanda and Afghanistan give testament to the dead innocents, felled by collateral damage as well as by brutal dictators. He is probably the most cogent and nuanced popular thinker writing on liberalism and human rights today; as evidence I submit his opus, *The Rights Revolution*. And when his article "Empire: The Burden" headlined the red-white-and-blue bedecked *New York Times Magazine* on January 5, 2003, the anti-war crowd – from moderates to Leninists – responded with a resounding "Aw, crap." Why? Because it showed why principled realists must run with the bulls.

The article didn't waste time on whether "empire" is a word that applies to Superpower America – "the only nation that polices the world through five global military commands; maintains more than a million men and women at arms on four continents; deploys carrier battle groups on watch in every ocean; guarantees the survival of countries from Israel to South Korea; drives the wheels of global trade and commerce; and fills the hearts and minds of an entire planet with its dreams and desires." The interesting question, the important question, is whether you want to be a part of the debate about what kind of empire it is, or whether you prefer your useless histrionics well behind the barricades.

Ignatieff's article was published several months before the invasion of Iraq, but he knew what was coming. What's more, he approved. The journalist Christopher Hitchens, who has had his own messy divorce from his pacifist colleagues, drives the point home. "The plain fact remains that when the rest of the world wants anything done in a hurry, it applies to American power," he writes. "If the 'Europeans' or the United Nations had been left with the task, the European provinces of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo would now be howling wildernesses, Kuwait would be the 19th province of a Greater Iraq, and Afghanistan might still be under Taliban rule."

We may be wrong, we, the war doves, but here in the thick of the action it seems possible to exert some pressure. We can't turn back the bulls – no one can – but perhaps we can draw them away from a child standing stunned in the street. We can say, "I like where you're going, Mr. President, but you don't really want to provide cover for Ariel Sharon's attempt to turn Jenin into a latrine for Zionist settlers." (Bush would give us that famous squint – indicating firm resolve and a desperate attempt to focus on the teleprompter – and he would say something like, "What you counsel is not evil; it is good." And his – *our!* – will would be done.) Or we could argue, as Ignatieff has, that the US must pay as much attention to the humanitarian as to the military aspects of empire. We can argue, for example, that the US must redress the unforgivable imbalance in Afghanistan, where it spends $1 billion each month on military operations versus $25 million on aid.

Do you get it? This game cannot be played from the sidelines. Empire built on rolling military interventions and hard diplomacy has begun and it will continue. Of course the American empire is shaped by self-interest, cold ideology and crypto-fundamentalism. But there is also a sincere concern for those who live under the totalitarian thumb, a genuine decency and fraternity that we can try to crystallize. "The 21st century imperium is a new invention in the annals of political science," writes Ignatieff, "an empire lite, a global hegemony whose grace notes are free markets, human rights and democracy, enforced by the most awesome military power the world has ever known."

And here's a dirty secret. It feels good to be on the side of the bang and not the whimper. To be a part of the momentum and not the reaction. And yes, some innocents will be gored and trampled by the empire, but don't pretend that *failure to act* has no blood on its hands – take Srebrinica, say, or Rwanda. Let me tell you, it feels good to think, for once, "Saddam is directly responsible for hundreds of thousands of deaths and we – *we!* – are going to take him down."

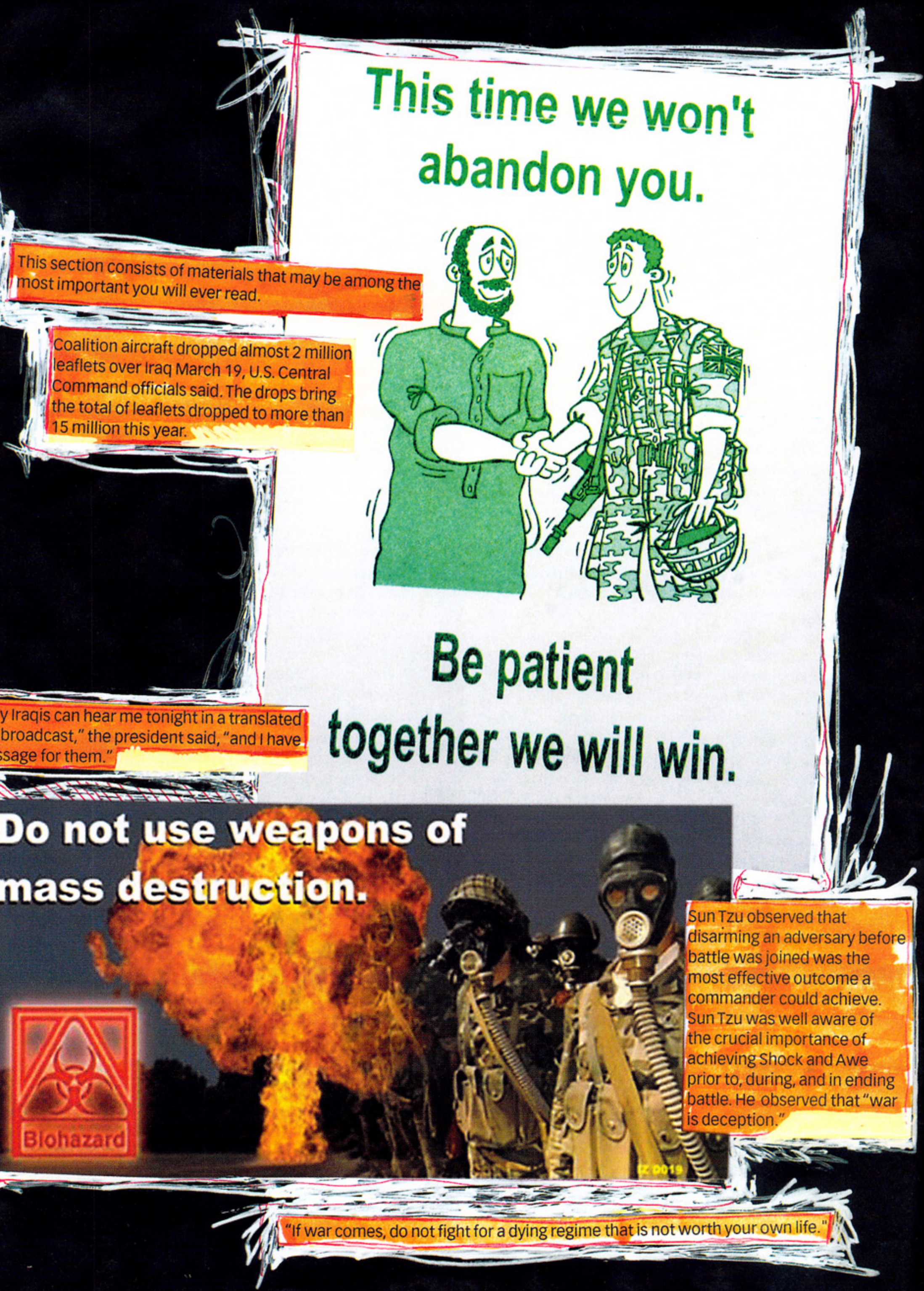
Ignatieff, Hitchens and all my new friends, we will run before the bulls with adrenaline howling in our blood and hoof thunder at our backs, and if we occasionally send wild-eyed looks over our shoulders at the leaping, snorting, hulking beasts of liberation, if you detect the dread and terror mixed amid our hope and pride, then you will suddenly understand why we run so goddamn fast.

Kris Johansen

This section consists of materials that may be among the most important you will ever read.

Coalition aircraft dropped almost 2 million leaflets over Iraq March 19, U.S. Central Command officials said. The drops bring the total of leaflets dropped to more than 15 million this year.

"Many Iraqis can hear me tonight in a translated radio broadcast," the president said, "and I have a message for them."



Sun Tzu observed that disarming an adversary before battle was joined was the most effective outcome a commander could achieve. Sun Tzu was well aware of the crucial importance of achieving Shock and Awe prior to, during, and in ending battle. He observed that "war is deception."

"If war comes, do not fight for a dying regime that is not worth your own life."

LEAFLET: REUTERS / CHRIS HELGREN

DOD / AFP / OTO

I WAS AN AMERICAN MUSLIM BOY SCOUT! YES SIR, ISLAMIC Scouts Troop 322, Chief Seattle Council, Boy Scouts USA. My troop started up in 1985 at the Islamic Center of Seattle on Northgate Way.

We were a diverse group, with kids from the Arab, Asian and African-American communities. Our Scoutmaster, of Syrian origin, was an experienced Boy Scout leader in the Seattle area who wanted to give something back to the Muslim community.

We were proud of our Islamic Scouting badge complete with Qur'aan-and-sunshine logo stitched over our hearts, as well as our star-spangled flag badge on our left sleeves. We were proud of our starched-out JC Penney uniforms. We went on hikes, jamborees and flag drills. We were young American Muslims, at one with Allah and the Constitution. We were proud.

We sometimes visited another Muslim troop in south Seattle composed mainly of Cham refugee kids. The Cham Muslims in Seattle were survivors of Pol Pot's genocide in Cambodia.

I remember our first visit to the Cham Muslim Scouts vividly, because it was a lesson in privilege awareness. We did the things Scouts do, and ended with a formal assembly outdoors, complete with awards.

I was shocked when I received a prize for my regulation Scouting outfit. Of all the Scouts there, I realized, I was the only one with a complete uniform: red beret, khaki shirt with badges, Scout belt and green pants. In my heart, I knew I got the award because I was the only one whose mom had taken him to JC Penney and shelled out for the whole enchilada.

They should have given the award to my parents, not me. Everybody clapped and cheered, but I couldn't look at the faces of the Cham kids or even my own troop. I was too embarrassed. I sat head down, cross-legged, clutching the prize: a regulation Boy Scouts USA water canteen.

Mas'ood Cajee is a health policy fellow and masters student at the Harvard School of Public Health.

US DEFENSE SECRETARY DONALD RUMSFELD AND US GENERAL TOMMY R. FRANKS, DOHA, QATAR, DEC 2002

IT IS TIME TO STOP PRETENDING THAT EUROPEANS AND AMERICANS SHARE A COMMON view of the world, or even that they occupy the same world. On the all-important question of power – the efficacy of power, the morality of power, the desirability of power – American and European perspectives are diverging. Europe is turning away from power, or to put it a little differently, it is moving beyond power into a self-contained world of laws and rules and transnational negotiation and cooperation. It is entering a post-historical paradise of peace and relative prosperity, the realization of Kant's "Perpetual Peace." The United States, meanwhile, remains mired in history, exercising power in the anarchic Hobbesian world where international laws and rules are unreliable and where true security and the defense and promotion of a liberal order still depend on the possession and use of military might. That is why on major strategic and international questions today, Americans are from Mars and Europeans are from Venus: they agree on little and understand one another less and less. And this state of affairs is not transitory – the product of one American election or one catastrophic event. The reasons for the transatlantic divide are deep, long in development, and likely to endure. When it comes to setting national priorities, determining threats, defining challenges, and fashioning and implementing foreign and defense policies, the United States and Europe have parted ways.

Robert Kagan, "Power and Weakness,"
Policy Review *(No. 113)*

IS IT JUST A LITTLE BIT UNNERVING THAT GLOBAL MORAL authority is now held at gunpoint by the US Marines? Of course it is. But it could be worse. We could have left it with the United Nations.

In April, while the world was [illegible]ing about America's war in Iraq, the UN Commission [illegible] Rights was busy glad-handing dictators, warmonger[illegible] [illegible]looded killers. The commission decided it had nothin[illegible] [illegible]ut Russia's use of torture and extrajudicial executions i[illegible] Zimbabwe, where the bullwhip is a major instrument o[illegible] [illegible]t policy, got off easy with a "no action" motion. The c[illegible] [illegible]ven made life easier for the government of Sudan by [illegible]f the pesky human-rights investigator who had been ke[illegible] on Africa's longest-running war.

Of course, the gathered peacemakers did find time t[illegible] down hard on at least one country: Israel. The occupatio[illegible] Palestine is "an aggression and an offense against humanit[illegible] a flagrant violation of human rights," the commission declar[illegible] In fact, the group was so distracted by its five resolutions condemning Israel that it didn't get around to Iran or Saudi Arabia or China. There are only so many hours in a day, and an alliance of Muslim countries was already busy undermining a vote on human rights for homosexuals.

Human Rights Watch calls the UN commission an "abusers club." The list of global watchdogs currently includes Algeria, China, Libya, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Sudan and Zimbabwe. Syria is on board. So is Cuba, where 75 political dissidents, independent journalists and activists have just been sentenced to a total of 1,454 years in jail. And of course the United States is in the middle of the action – the only country on Earth that is still officially executing juvenile offenders.

But the Commission on Human Rights is only a reflection of the UN itself. Look at the Security Council, where the five permanent members are still fighting World War II. Look at the General Assembly, a "parliament" of nations – about half of them dictatorships – where Andorra has the same voting power as India. The United Nations has become an example of everything that can go wrong with democracy – a lesson that the world's dictators and superpowers have taken to heart.

But wait! There is the bright new promise of a democratic global public – the people, united, taking to the streets to fight for the justice that has been left too long to our corrupted politicians. We saw that power on February 15, when 10 million [illegible]ople made a worldwide statement against Operation Iraqi [illegible]dom. Beautiful. So beautiful. But then, where was everybody [illegible]idel Castro chose Day 1 of the war in Iraq to crackdown [illegible]position? Who chanted "give peace a chance" for [illegible] Who even cares that six million people have died in [illegible]'s wars?

[illegible]y want to organize 10 million people every time anoth[illegible]-pot dictator sets out to murder his own people? Do you really want the responsibility? The power?

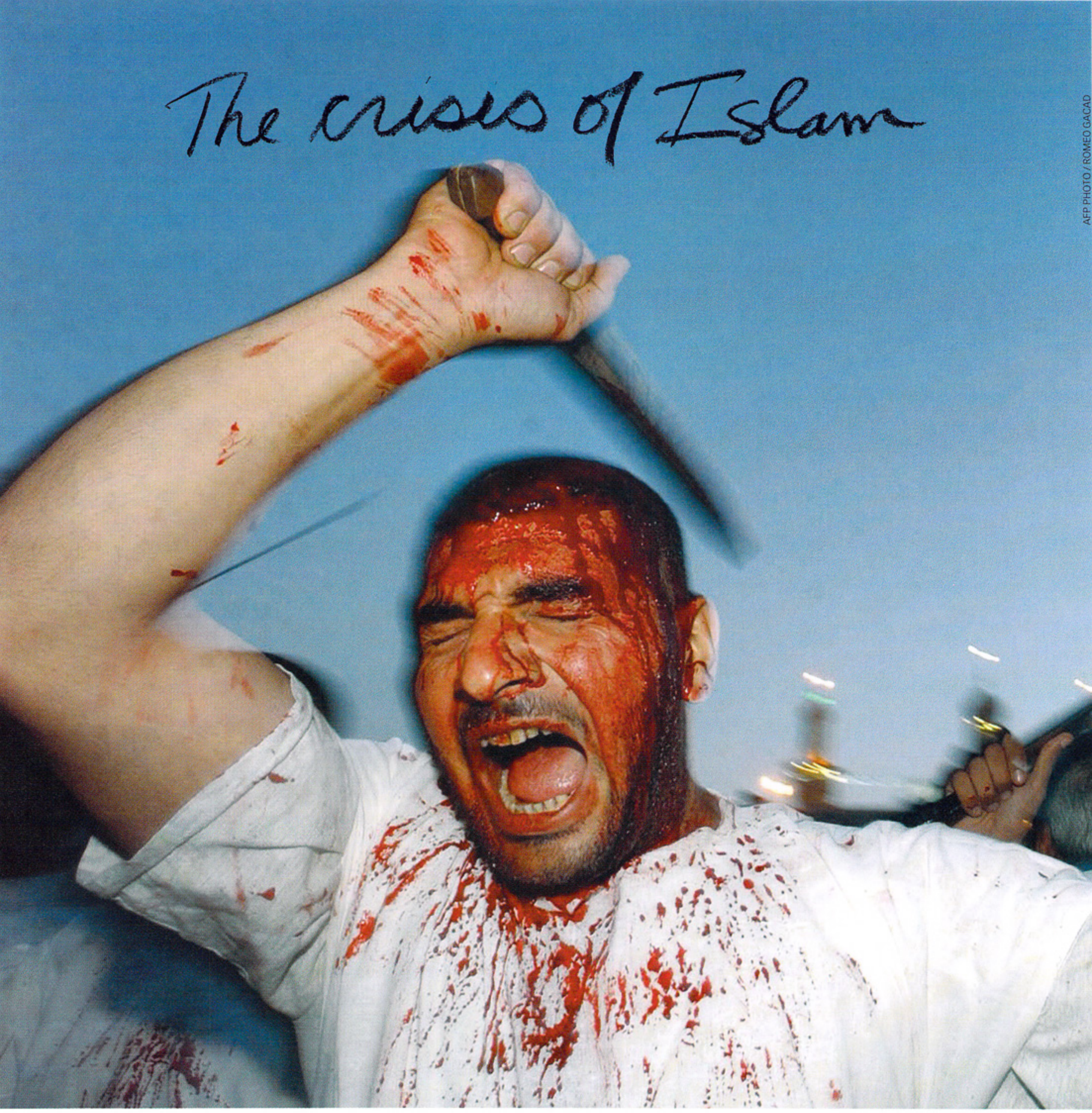
Well do you, punk?

©LAUREN GREENFIELD/VIL FROM BEVERLY HILLS AND FRIENDS FROM THE BOOK EASTEO/WARPO/MIANOLI

Branding is to instill an emotion with the sight of a product or logo. To unbrand, I suppose, happiness and self-esteem must be given to all people, free of charge. [redacted]

MARY FREY LIVING ROOM SUNSET

The crisis of Islam



AFP PHOTO / ROMEO GACAD

> I think every Barbie doll is more harmful than an American missile
>
> Toy seller
> Masoumeh Rahimi

IRAQI SHIITES PERFORM *TADBEER*, A REPENTANCE RITUAL, IN THE HOLY CITY OF KARBALA, APRIL 2003

Highest global ranking held by any Muslim nation, based on ownership of computers: 30th (Bahrain)

Based on manufacturing output: 35th (Egypt)

Based on life expectancy: 32nd (Kuwait)

MUSLIMS, INCLUDING AMERICAN MUSLIMS, HAVE BEEN practicing hypocrisy on a grand scale. They protest against the discriminatory practices of Israel but are silent against the discriminatory practices in Muslim states. In the Gulf one can see how laws and even salaries are based on ethnic origin. This is racism, but we never hear of Muslims protesting against it at international forums.

The Israeli occupation of Palestine is perhaps central to Muslim grievance against the West. While acknowledging that, I must remind you that Israel treats its one million Arab citizens with greater respect and dignity than most Arab nations treat their citizens. Today, Palestinian refugees can settle and become citizens of the United States, but in spite of all the tall rhetoric of the Arab world and Koranic injunctions, no Muslim country except Jordan extends similar support.

While we loudly and consistently condemn Israel for its ill treatment of Palestinians, we are silent when Muslim regimes abuse the rights of Muslims and slaughter thousands of them. Remember Saddam and his use of chemical weapons against Muslim Kurds? Remember the Pakistani army's excesses against Muslim Bengalis? Remember the mujahedin of Afghanistan and their mutual slaughter? Have we ever condemned them for their excesses? Have we demanded international intervention or retribution against them? Do you know how the Saudis treat their Shia minority? Have we protested the violation of their rights? But we all are eager to condemn Israel; not because we care for the rights and lives of the Palestinians – we don't. We condemn Israel because we hate "them."

Muslims love to live in the US but also love to hate it. Many openly claim that the US is a terrorist state, but they continue to live in it. Their decision to live here is testimony that they would rather live here than anywhere else. As an Indian Muslim, I know for sure that nowhere on Earth, including India, will I get the same sense of dignity and respect that I have received in the US. No Muslim country will treat me as well as the US has. If what happened on September 11 had happened in India, the world's biggest democracy, thousands of Muslims would have been slaughtered in riots on mere suspicion and again after confirmation. But in the US, bigotry and xenophobia were kept in check by media and leadership. In many places, hundreds of Americans gathered around Islamic centers in symbolic gestures of protection and embrace. In patience and in tolerance, ordinary Americans have demonstrated their extraordinary virtues.

It is time that we acknowledge that the freedoms we enjoy in the US are more desirable to us than superficial solidarity with the Muslim world. If you disagree, then prove it by packing your bags and going to whichever Muslim country you identify with. If you do not leave and do not acknowledge that you would rather live here than anywhere else, know that you are being hypocritical.

Muqtedar Khan, from "A Memo to American Muslims" <www.ijtihad.org/memo.htm>

The amount by which the GDP of Spain outpaced the GDP of the entire Arab World in 1999: $64 billion

THE ISLAMIC WORLD IS STRICKEN BY A crisis of faith. You heard me: faith. There is a plague of uncertainty about the fundamental truths of globalization. There is doubt about unbridled consumerism, and caution toward the gap between ethics and economics. There is even a suspicion that *profit maximization* may be something close to sin.

Some of this may sound faintly familiar. Even in the western tradition, a few heretics still argue that economics is not an immaculate order – a perfect whole that is only disrupted when we meddle with its laws – but instead is an outcome of history and politics. These are the people who believe, for example, that mass production was not the inevitable progress of economic evolution, but an ordinary choice pushed along by powerful people who saw a buck to be made.

Consider this: classical Islamic civilization had no tradition of institutional banking. The first banks in the Muslim world date from the 19th century, and all were foreign-owned. It wasn't until the 1960s that Muslims in Egypt began experimenting with financial systems that stuck to the letter of the Koran and Shariah law. The first Islamic banks opened their doors in the 1970s; today, they hold more than $200 billion in assets. They've been called "a parallel system of economics."

So what happens in this unknown other world? Read my lips: no one pays interest. The bank does not pay interest to you, and you do not pay interest to the bank. "Those who devour usury will not stand except as stand one whom the Evil One by his touch hath driven to madness," warns the Koran. There are similar lines in the Bible, but the Christians were back to setting interest rates even before they'd stopped stoning people to death for doing magic tricks.

It gets more complicated. In Islamic finance, money is not considered a good in and of itself. It must be put to work. You cannot invest in a project and expect to be paid back no matter what happens. Instead, you must become a partner in the project, investing your money and accepting either the profits of its success or the losses of its failure. Risks that amount to gambling (are you listening, day traders?) are forbidden. Stocks are permitted, since they represent a share of something real, but they must also reflect Islamic values. The Dow Jones Islamic Index lists fewer than half of the Dow Jones Industrial Average stocks; forbidden companies include those with ties to tobacco, alcohol, pornography, pork products, weapons and the western banks. It's ethical investment in the name of Allah.

Is any of this radical? Think about the relationship between interest and credit, and credit and debt. (Think of your *own* relationship with this axis of evil.) Imagine a world recast without them. As Shaykh Nizam Yaquby of Bahrain told *Fortune* magazine in 2002, "This consumerism society was only created because of the banking system, because it encourages 'buy today, pay tomorrow.' You also have poor economies in debt to rich ones. This is because of borrowing and lending with interest. So this is creating big economic chaos in the world."

Of course, Islamic banking is much too human for miracles. In its short history, it has been damaged by fraud, scandal and its fair share of Gordon al-Gekkos. And consider the sly practice of *murabaha*. Suppose a Muslim couple wants to buy a home in Palm Springs and live the American Dream. They probably can't pay cash up front (who can?), and they can't get a mortgage (which carries the forbidden interest). So they make an arrangement with their Islamic bank, which buys the house and marks up the price by an amount surprisingly similar to the mortgage rate. Then the bank sells the house to the couple, who pay for it in monthly installments.

Western system: house plus interest. Eastern system: house plus mark-up. Do you see a difference?

But such imperfections are only windows into the troubled human soul. What matters more is that Islamic economics demands an ethical gut-check in every interaction. Private wealth is fine, but the *zakat* – alms-giving in the name of redistribution and community well-being – is mandatory. Profit is acceptable, but "abnormal profit" is not. Competition is good, but it's wrong to exploit an unfair advantage. Each of these limits and many more are endlessly examined within the community of Islam – a process known as *ijtihad* – to create a living foundation for economic life.

When did the West give up on its own debate? Check-cashing shops that lend money to the poor at loan-shark rates. Credit-card companies that maneuver their clients deeper into debt. Stock brokers who say that "morals are morals, and money is money." Corporations that abandon whole communities to chase a better tax rate. When did we surrender to "business as usual"? Answer: when we accepted a power greater than any or all of us. When we entered into a blind bond of faith with an all-knowing force that we call The Economy.

It moves in mysterious ways.

James MacKinnon

EVER SINCE MIRACLES BECAME THE PROPERTY OF SCIENCE, we have been stripped of the capacity to wonder, to be instinctive. I never questioned how the desert became a city. How the harshest, most desolate place on Earth flourished so quickly, and how the ephemeral, transient sand that holds nothing could accommodate the pavement, the rush hour and the immovable skyscraper. I wanted to ask about the people that had lived there before, the nomadic Bedouins. But the First Oil Encounter is hardly ever written about, except in scientific terms.

Abdelrahman Munif tried to enter the desert silence; he wrote his masterwork, *Cities of Salt*. A fictitious oasis, Wadi al-Uyoun, was the source and the beginning. An "outpouring of green amid the harsh, obdurate desert . . . It was one of those rare cases of nature expressing its genius and willfulness, in defiance of any explanation." The wadi was a traveler's salvation under the searing sun.

"Today the world is as you see it, but tomorrow it will be different": Wadi al-Uyoun disappeared, obliterated by tractors. The inhabitants of the wadi became refugees, rootless. It was a breaking off of the source, like an early death.

Not so long before that, the Bedouin of the wadi had been told that friends had come from America to help them extract the "oceans of blessings" beneath their feet. They would be among the richest and happiest of all humankind, as if God saw none but them, and the promise became their curse.

In exact reality, it was May 1933 when King Abdul Aziz Bin Abdul Rahman Al-Saud signed an agreement authorizing Standard Oil of California (Socal) to explore for oil in the Eastern Province of the newly founded Kingdom of Saudia Arabia. The familiar history is the story of men striking it rich. We prefer not to remember that the clash of civilizations is hardly a new idea.

A petroleum engineer turned author, Munif recreated the desert in his fiction. His words travel with the caravans and huddle around the fire at night. He retrieves the era that began after the Americans arrived (the Bedouin called them "infidels" or "devils"); it was a time marked by fear, violence, corruption, depression, illness and environmental devastation. For his efforts, Munif would go on to have his Saudi citizenship revoked.

Munif chose the fictional city of Harran, "The Overheated" (sounding very similar to the actual Saudi port of Dhahran), as headquarters for his American Company. To the desert people, it was a "city of finality and damnation." Again, the original inhabitants were uprooted, and the new Harran bore no resemblance to the old one.

"Within less than a month two cities began to rise: Arab Harran and American Harran. The bewildered and frightened workers, who had in the beginning inspired American contempt and laughter, built the two cities," Munif writes. It followed that there would be two governments, the American Company and the emirate. The uprooted Bedouins, along with many others who had begun to hear about Harran, came to work for the Company. They came because they heard there would be excellent food, wonderful pay, short hours and free housing in homes surrounded by water and gardens. Instead, they lived in the Barracks, where the roofs were like molten lead in the summer.

After work, the Americans went back to their compound, to their swimming pools and air-conditioned rooms "whose thick curtains shut everything out: sunlight, dust, flies and Arabs." The relationship between the Arabs and the Americans was confined to interactions with the "Personnel Office," but Munif's Americans are neither totally heartless nor greedy; they are curious and eager when they are in a good mood, and they take tons of photos and write down every word that the Bedouins say.

And this oil that the Americans were so eager to extract – it meant nothing to the people of the desert. They had no cars, no motors, no machinery. Still they stayed. They had been promised compensation for leaving their homes, and they got stuck working for the Company. In Harran, land, which had never been bought or sold before, was being bought and sold. Those who had never paid for their remedies were charged huge fees for the smallest medical services. A prison was established, along with the emir's ruthless Desert Police. The first nomad to be arrested was charged with being a vagabond. "I swear to you, people of Harran," he warned, "the day will come when they try to sell water!"

The environmental devastation that took place with the arrival of the Americans was more apparent to the instinctive, wandering Bedouins, who could read every sign of the desert. The summer came early; the winter nights grew colder. The water had an unpalatable taste; their fathers would never have drunk it. The Bedouins sensed the calamity, but they could not know, and because everything happened so fast, they were caught in a journey that was not of their choosing.

Cities of Salt is an author's lament. Munif found, at the end of history and the edge of the future, an Arab world of "oil-rich, oil-ruined" countries. "The tragedy is not our having oil," he said in an interview during the first Gulf War, "but in the way we use the wealth it has created, and in the future awaiting us after it has run out." The era of oil will close, and every Persian Gulf nation could be left without an economy, without a constitution. The United States forgot about democracy in the First Oil Encounter. Instead, its fever for oil led directly to the modern apparatus of repression and suppression, and the creation of the "fossil-fuel authoritarian regimes."

Munif does leave room for hope, but not the kind that will bring any comfort to the wounded and paranoid West. When Wadi al-Uyoun is destroyed, a man named Miteb al-Hathal, of the Atoum tribe, rides off on his camel into the desert. He is the symbol for justice and hope, the "last gasp of Arab," as the poet Mahmoud Darwish would call him. Al-Hathal becomes a prophetic figure who emerges only occasionally to cry doom. In the intervening years, he is always prophesied to reappear.

"His return would be sweeping and violent like the simoon, the hot sandstorm; no one would be able to stand against it." Will the desert ever return to its thousands of years of silence? Will the Cities of Salt dissolve as quickly as they were built?

Refqa Abu Remaileh

The number of books translated per year by the entire Arab world, compared to the number translated per year by Greece: 330 to 1,650

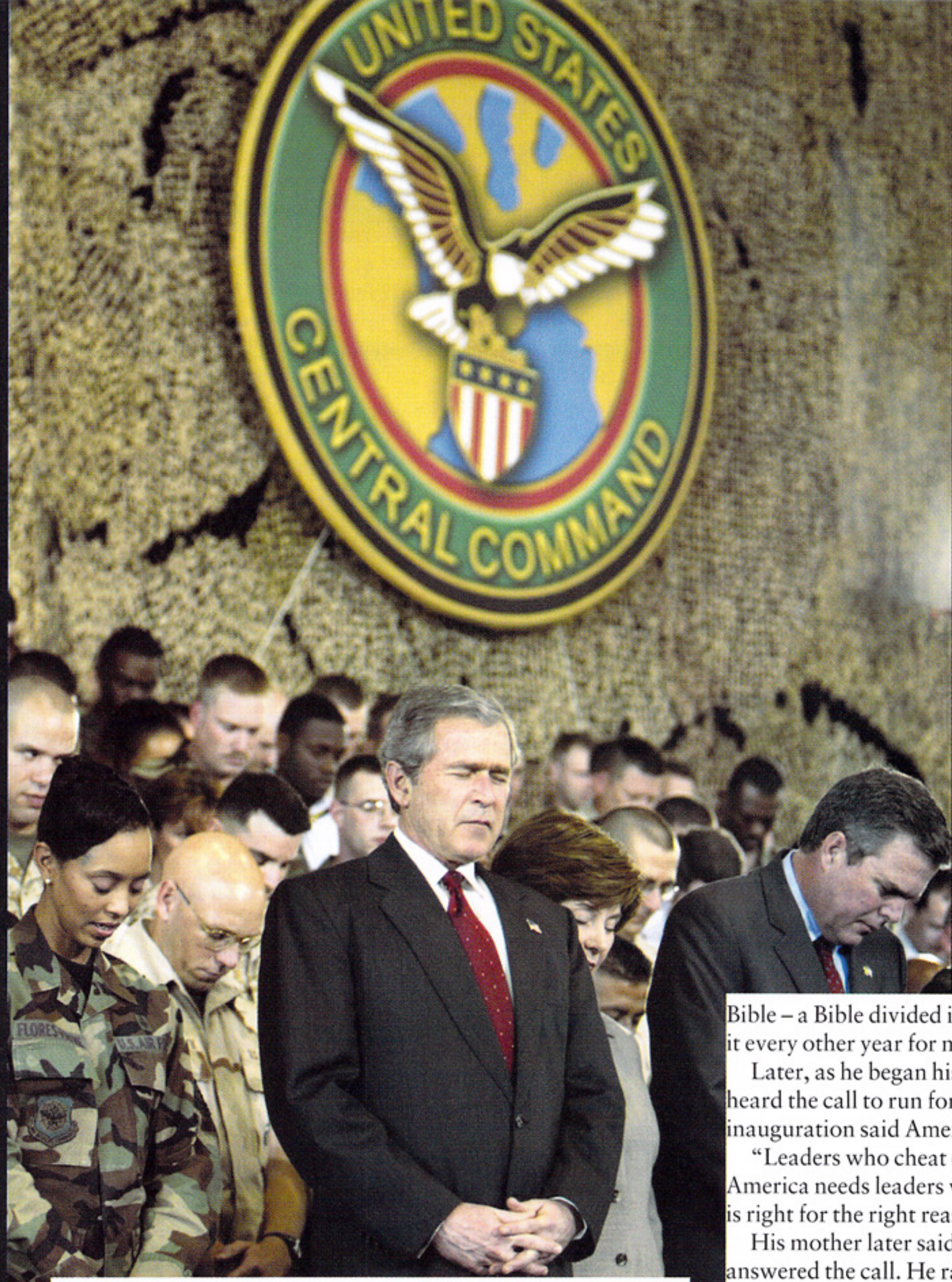


PHOTO: REUTERS / KEVIN LAMARQUE

GEORGE W. BUSH TRACES THE RENEWAL OF HIS CHRISTIAN faith back to a summer weekend at his parents' place in Maine, in 1985. His dad invited the Christian evangelist Billy Graham to join a large family gathering and answer their questions on matters of faith.

Bush had not yet given up the bottle; he was heavy into partying and he was searching for direction. Even though he had always attended church, served as an altar boy, and even taught Sunday school, he was looking for more. The next day he took a walk with Graham. "He was like a magnet," Bush would write later in his book, *A Charge to Keep*.

"That weekend my faith took on new meaning. It was the beginning of a new walk where I would recommit my heart to Jesus Christ."

When he returned to home to Texas, Bush began a regimen of daily Bible reading and prayer. A close friend talked him into joining a men's community Bible study; he got a "one-year" Bible – a Bible divided into 365 daily readings – and read through it every other year for more than a decade.

Later, as he began his second term as Governor of Texas, Bush heard the call to run for president. The preacher at his second inauguration said America was starved for honest leaders.

"Leaders who cheat on their wives will cheat their country . . . America needs leaders who have the moral courage to do what is right for the right reason."

His mother later said to Bush, "He was talking to you." Bush answered the call. He ran for president and won.

Fast-forward to September 20, 2001, hours before President Bush's first address to Congress since the terror of September 11. Bush gathered 27 of the nation's religious leaders: half of who were Christian, the rest Buddhist, Hindu, Sikh and Mormon.

"I think this is part of a spiritual awakening in America," said Bush (according to the notes of one of the ministers). He told the group that the nation was staggering and needed to get back on its feet. He made a comparison between himself and the country: "I was a sinner in need of redemption, and I found it." The devastation in New York is a challenge to the nation, to look deep into its heart, he said.

At that gathering – perhaps Bush's defining moment – the president of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod said, "You are not just a civil servant, you are a servant of God called for such a time like this."

"I accept the responsibility," Bush said, nodding.

Aiden Enns

UNITED STATES CENTRAL COMMAND, MACDILL AIR FORCE BASE, TAMPA, FLORIDA, MARCH 26, 2003

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- Limited to 95 casting days
- Crafted of hand-painted sculpture and sparkling crystalline
- Accompanied by a numbered Certificate of Authenticity

Figurine shown actual size of 4" high

A Prayer for America's Military Heroes

As America's brave troops vow to protect d defend the cause of freedom, it's mforting to know that they are safely

Enhanced with sparkling crystalline, this precious collectible shines as brightly as America's pride. And the touching words

The Hamilton Collection
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Please Respond Promptly

FROM *PARADE MAGAZINE*, MARCH 30, 2003

ART CONTRIBUTORS 48

Daniele Galliano
Blues 2000
Courtesy In Arco Gallery
Torino, Italy

Sylvie Fleury
Installation
Courtesy Rebecca M.Camhi Gallery
Athens, Greece

Zhao Qin
Courtesy Pia Copper and Kilometer Zero Magazine
Paris, France

Amy Giunta

Mjanou and friends from Beverly Hills High School spending their Senior Beach Day at Will Rogers State Beach in Los Angeles. Mjanou won the title of "Best Physique" at Beverly Hills High.
©Lauren Greenfield/VII
From the book *Fast Forward*

Seamus Nicolson
Jason 2000
The Tate Collection
Courtesy The Agency Gallery, London

Mary Frey
Living Room Sunset from *Telling Stories*
1999-2003

John Goto
Unit 2, Capital Arcade
1997/9
www.johngoto.org.uk

Geoffrey Cunningham
American Resolve 2000

Mark Abrams
Photograph of Samantha Morton

DUCT TAPE JACKET, 2001

GEOFFREY CUNNINGHAM AMERICAN RESOLVE 2001

An interview with Coca-Cola, just one week after the unexpected death of Pepsi.

Q: *Coke, since the almost overnight collapse of Pepsi, you've essentially become the sole remaining superforce in the once highly competitive cola-flavored sweetened beverage category. Excuse the pun, but are you feeling drunk with power, given this new situation?*
COKE: That's an excellent question, Doug, and a question that's important to me.

Q: *Okay then, Coke, with Pepsi gone, one would imagine that the pressure is off you to continue putting out the massive advertising spending campaigns. You could take a breather for a while, maybe.*
COKE: A breather? Listen, Doug, I don't know what planet you live on, but here on Earth, we have this thing called brand loyalty, and without it, Coke's dead in the water.

Q: *Sorry to have asked a leading–*
COKE: No, that's okay. When you're in Coke's position, you realize that there needs to be a balance in the consumer ecology of the cola-flavored sweetened beverage category.

Q: *Balance? Coke now commands nearly 98 percent of the world's trade in cola-flavored sweetened beverages.*
COKE: I don't see your point.

Q: *Let me ask you bluntly, then: are you going to allow Royal Crown and, say, No Name brand colas to maintain not just their current market shares, but also the option of competing with you freely and openly, without the use of strong-arm tactics like some critics have alluded to?*
COKE: Tactics?

Q: *For example, forcing vendors to accept not just Coke, but all of Coke's ancillary products such as Fanta and Dasani water to fill the considerable void left by Pepsi's demise.*
COKE: Force? We would never force a consumer to drink Coke and only Coke. A level playing field is what Coke believes in. If Royal Crown wants to roll up their sleeves and take a swing at us, sure, we're okay with that – prepared for it, even.

Q: *But you're nearly 300 times more dominant than Royal Crown in the cola-flavored sweetened beverage category.*
COKE: As you know, we didn't make the rules. And if Pepsi's dead, it's because they weren't doing something right. It has nothing to do with Coke, or Coke's position in the cola-flavored sweetened beverage category.

Q: *Some theorists wonder if Coke is going to–*
COKE: To what, Doug?

Q: *I hate to use the term "become lazy" – and I'm speaking only of ideas put forth by theorists here, theories that ask whether in the absence of a stabilizing competitive force, what's to prevent Coke from tampering with the formula in some way? Cutting costs – using beet sugar or non-caramel-based colorants? Even to a beverage industry outsider, such tampering seems like a genuine possibility.*
COKE: Coke would never tamper with what made it Coke in the first place. Never have. Never will.

Q: *But what about New Coke and the old formu–*
COKE: Next question.

Q: *Very well then. Some extremists have even said that the only reason Coke is in first place is simply because Coke was the first cola-flavored sweetened beverage.*
COKE: Do you know what they used to flavor Pepsi, Doug?

Q: *Well, a formula – and I mean no disrespect here – that in some ways resembled your own.*
COKE: Doug, Pepsi used *pepsin*.

Q: *You make the word sound so – dirty. And it's not as if they used a lot of it.*
COKE: Think about it, Doug. Pepsin – a pepperminty flavoring agent – in a cola-flavored sweetened beverage. And they wonder why they died.

Q: *We're out of time here, I'm afraid. Thank you for taking the time from your schedule, Coke. And I can assume that your stance on Diet Coke applies to Diet Pepsi as well?*
COKE: Wouldn't have it any other way.

Q: *Thanks again.*
COKE: My pleasure.

Douglas Coupland

I see a lot of people yelling for peace but I have not heard of one peace plan. Here's mine...

1 The US will apologize to the world for our "interference" in their affairs, past & present. You know, Hitler, Mussolini and the rest of them. We will never "interfere" again.

2 We will withdraw our troops from all over the world. They don't want us there. We would station all those troops at our borders. No more sneaking through holes in the fence.

3 All illegal aliens have 90 days to get their affairs together and leave. The remainder will be gathered up and deported. France/Canada would welcome them.

4 All future visitors will be thoroughly checked and limited to 30 days unless given a special permit. No one from a terrorist nation would be allowed in period. If you don't like it where you are, change it yourself. Asylum would not ever be available to anyone. We don't need any more cab drivers.

5 The US will make a strong effort to become self-sufficient energy-wise. This will require a temporary drilling of oil in the Alaskan wilderness. The caribou will have to cope.

6 No more foreign aid. If there is a famine or other natural catastrophe in the world, we will not "interfere." They can pray to Allah for seeds, rain, food, cement or whatever they need.

7 Ship the UN Headquarters to France or Canada. We don't need the spies and fair-weather friends. Besides, it would make a good homeless shelter or lockup for illegal aliens.

8 Massively reduce or eliminate imported goods especially from France/Canada. There is little or nothing that we can't make better than any other country.

9 With all the money we save on foreign aid, all Americans can go to charm and beauty school. No more Ugly Americans!

Now, isn't that a winner?

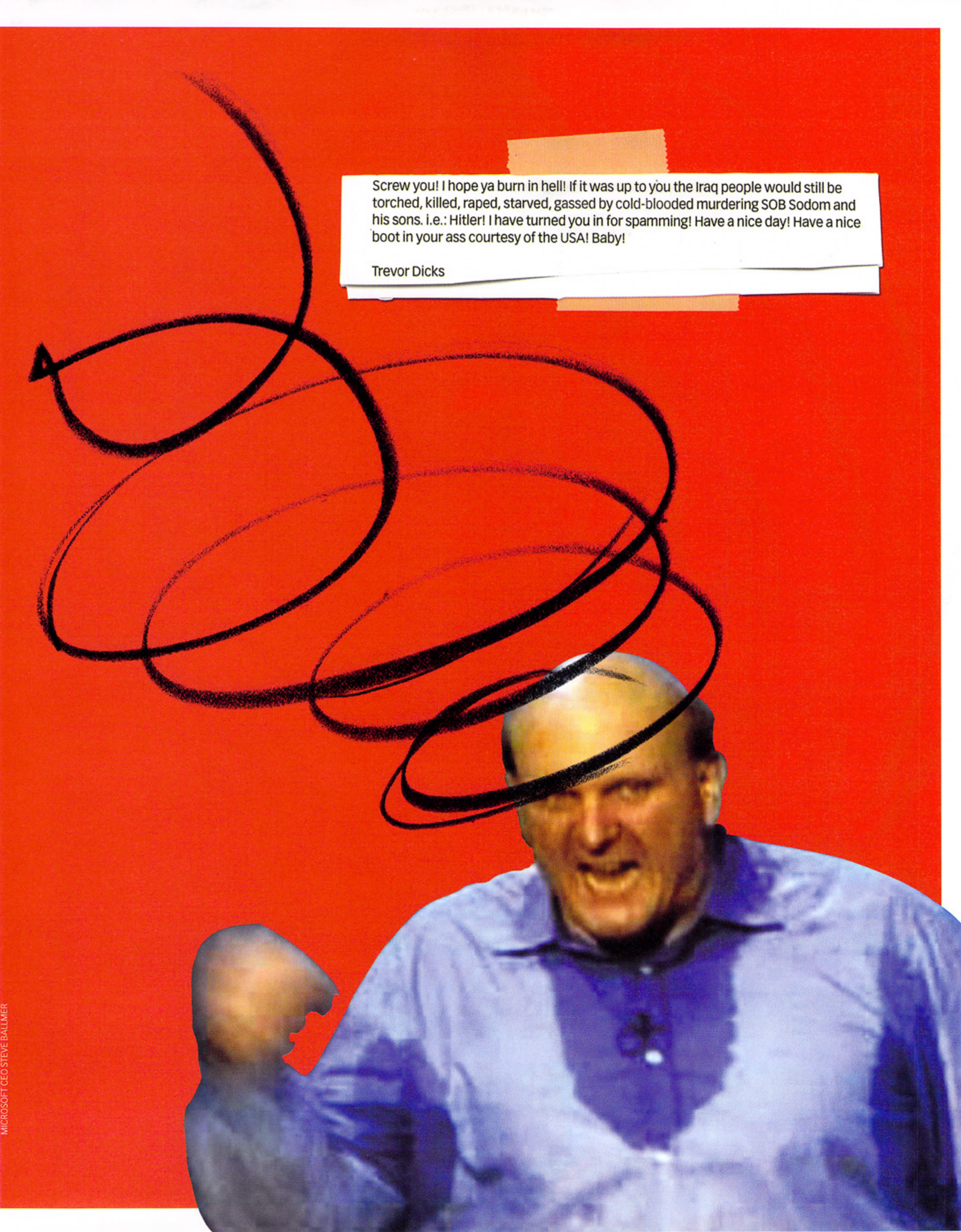
Timothy K. Kissner

INSTALLATION: SYLVIE FLEURY

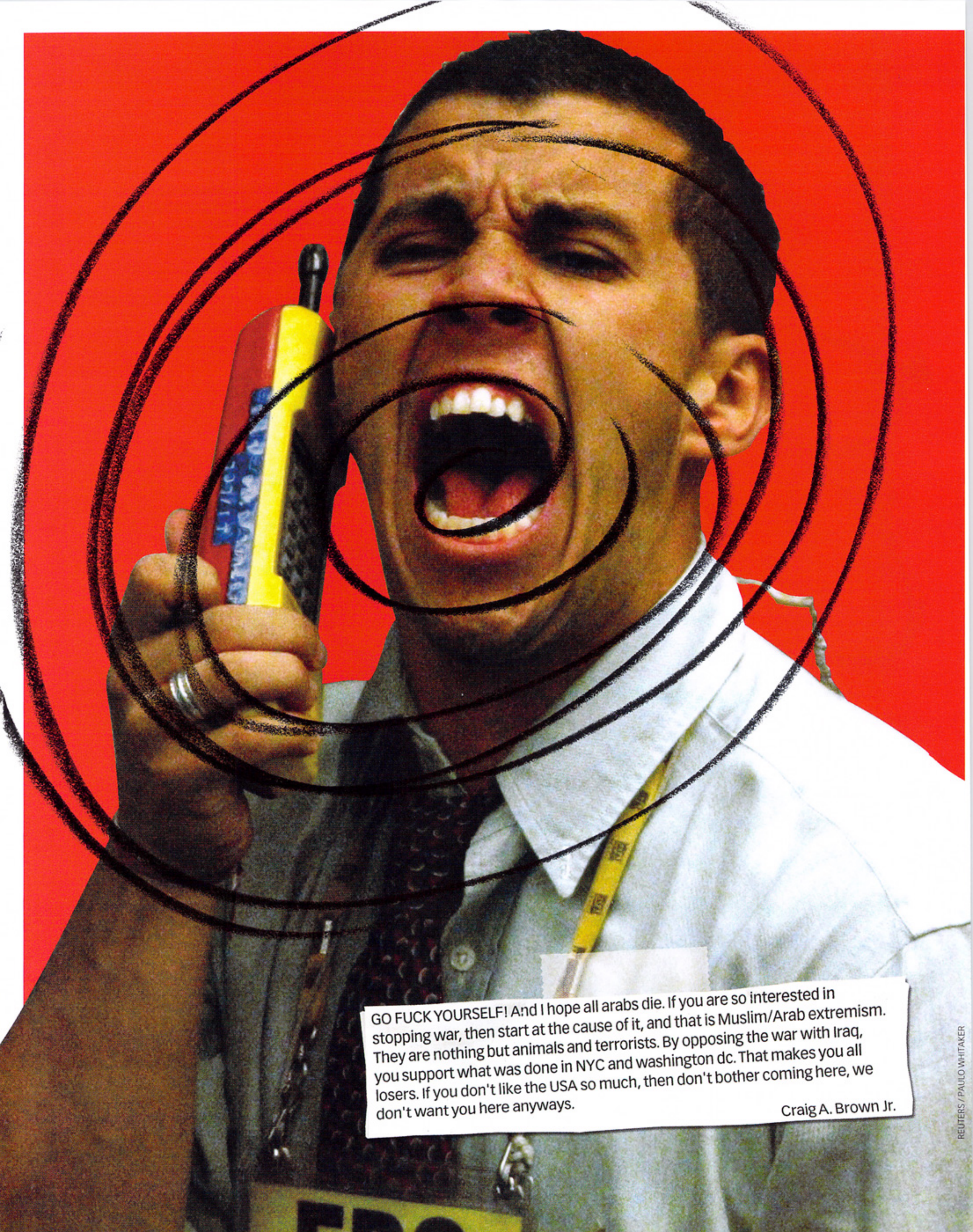
IMAGE: EMPICS

Screw you! I hope ya burn in hell! If it was up to you the Iraq people would still be torched, killed, raped, starved, gassed by cold-blooded murdering SOB Sodom and his sons. i.e.: Hitler! I have turned you in for spamming! Have a nice day! Have a nice boot in your ass courtesy of the USA! Baby!

Trevor Dicks



MICROSOFT CEO STEVE BALLMER



GO FUCK YOURSELF! And I hope all arabs die. If you are so interested in stopping war, then start at the cause of it, and that is Muslim/Arab extremism. They are nothing but animals and terrorists. By opposing the war with Iraq, you support what was done in NYC and washington dc. That makes you all losers. If you don't like the USA so much, then don't bother coming here, we don't want you here anyways.

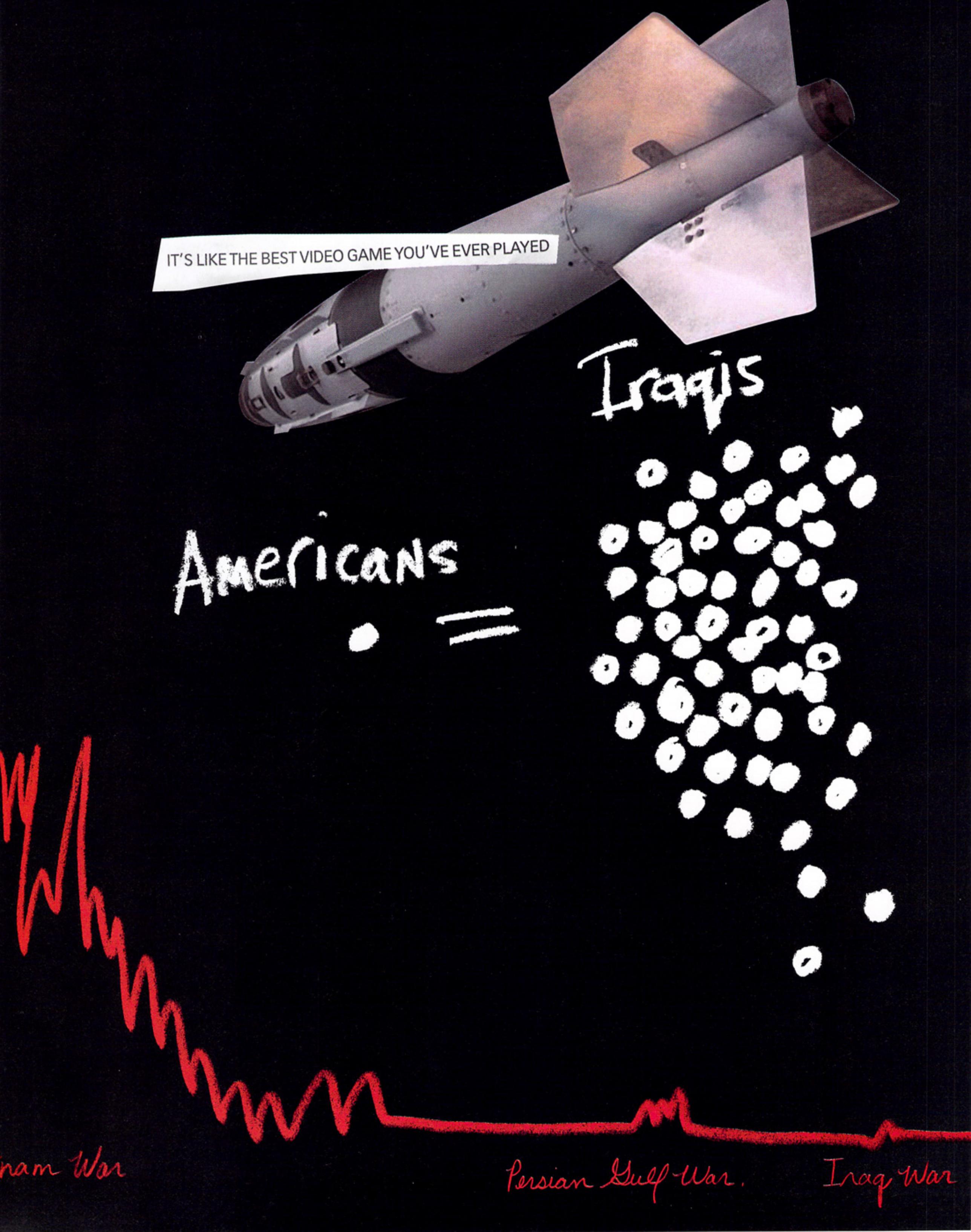
Craig A. Brown Jr.

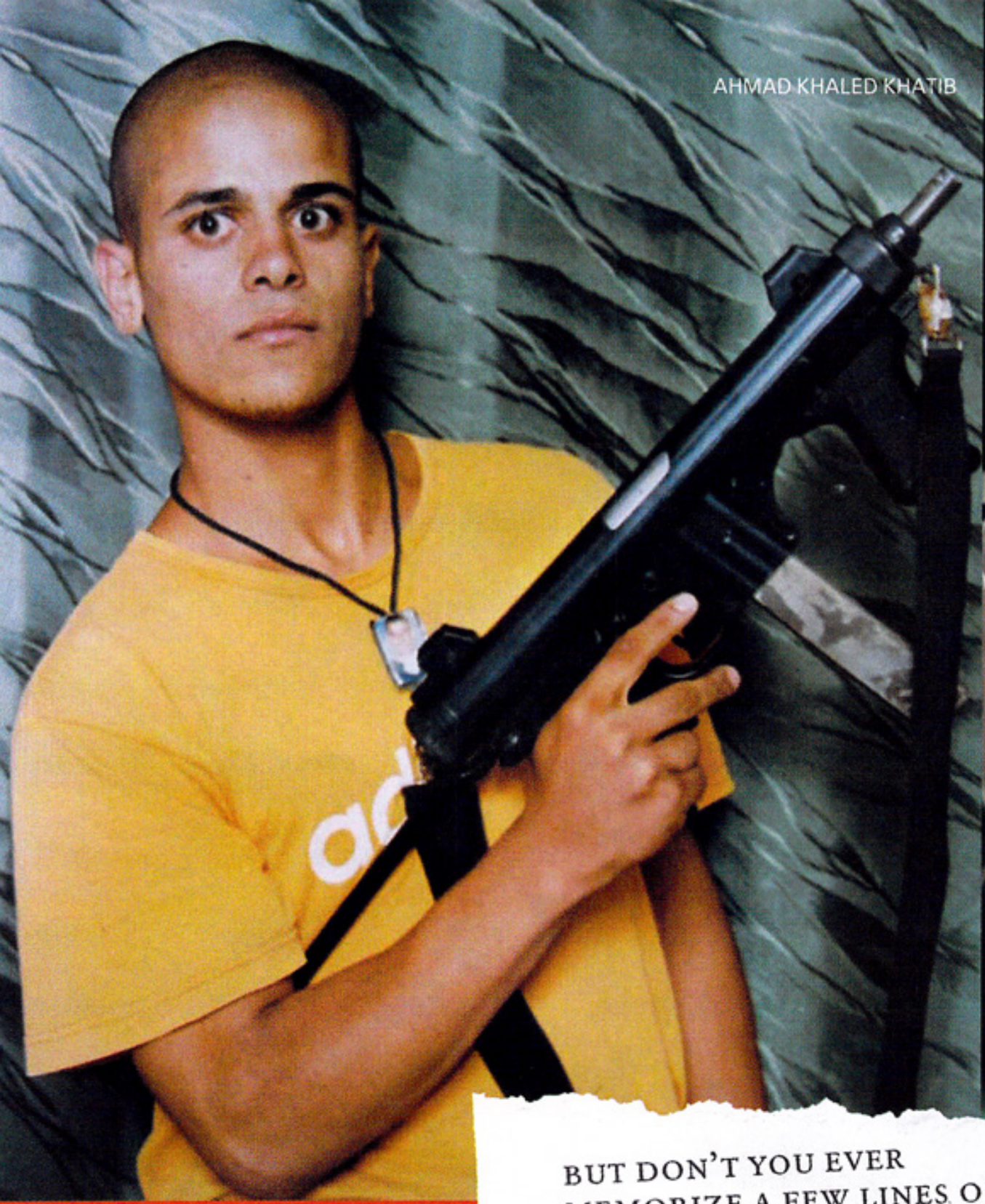
REUTERS / PAULO WHITAKER

Fuck all of you smelly weasels. Do you think any of us in America really give a rats-ass if you buy any of our goods? Your economies will be turned into third-world banana republics if you piss us off enough.

AFP PHOTO / DOUG KANTER

The number of US troops killed per month has plummeted over the last century, as their technological advantage in the theaters of war has increased. Today, accidents and friendly fire are often the biggest threats to American solders. (From *New York Times*, April 2003.)


IT'S LIKE THE BEST VIDEO GAME YOU'VE EVER PLAYED
Iraqis
Americans
=
nam War
Persian Gulf War.
Iraq War



AHMAD KHALED KHATIB

PALESTINIAN MEMBER OF HAMAS

TL IMAGE: REUTERS / TR IMAGE: AFP PHOTO/MOHAMMED SABER

BUT DON'T YOU EVER
MEMORIZE A FEW LINES OF POETRY, PERHAPS,
TO RESTRAIN YOURSELF FROM MASSACRE?

-MAHMOUD DARWISH

WIDAD JAMIL

AMER MOHAMMED SHKUKANI

BL IMAGE: AFP PHOTO/IBAQ TV, BR PHOTO: AFP PHOTO

Preemptive

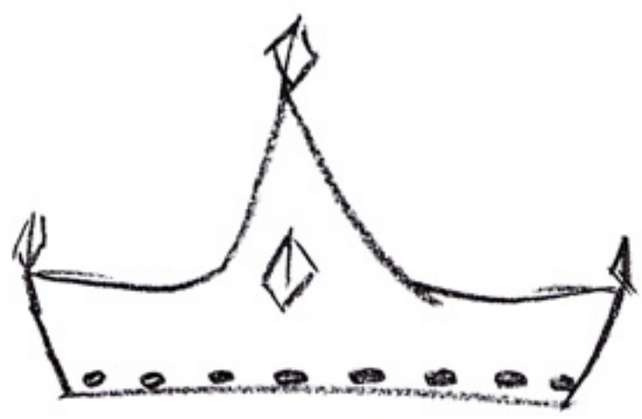
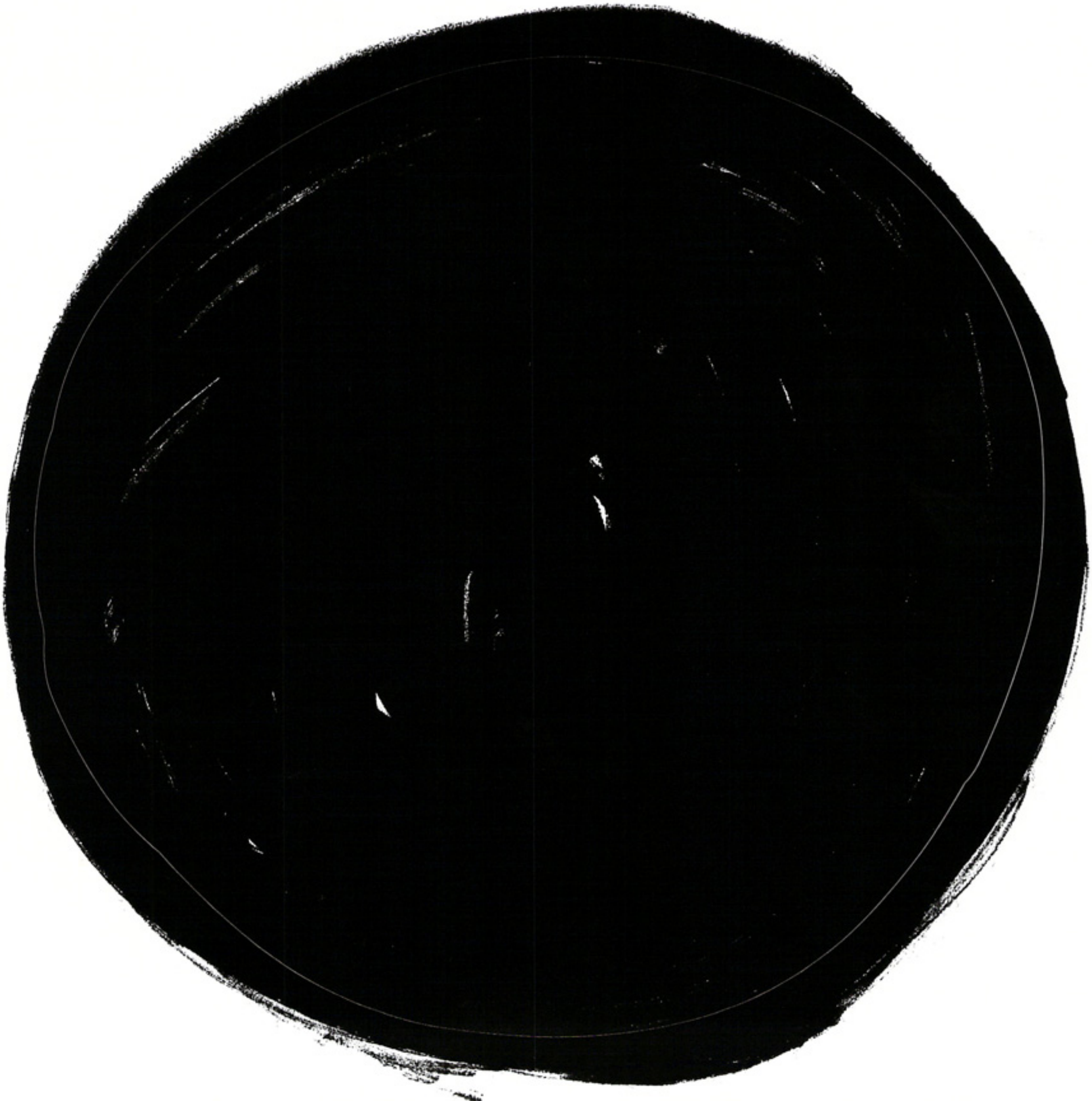
WAR

Is ~~*Terrorism*~~

necessary

how free do you want to be?

FROM *BLACK BOOK* MAGAZINE, DEC 2002/JAN 2003

BUSH AGAIN IN 2004 After another Cheney heart attack scare the duo surge to victory, their campaign bolstered by word from Oslo that George W. is the frontrunner for the Nobel Peace prize for his role in demilitarizing the Israeli-Palestinian standoff.	NORTH AMERICAN INTEGRATION / UNIFICATION Canada and Mexico are given a choice: you're either in or you're out. Cowed, the two countries adopt the greenback, homogenize immigration and send token representatives to the Pentagon's continental defense headquarters.	ANTI-U.S. PLATFORMS DOMINATE EUROPEAN ELECTIONS Rallying to "Imperialism belongs in the Past," social democrats and radical greens sweep elections across the continent.
ROE v. WADE OVERTURNED	MISS WORLD PAGEANT HELD IN TEHRAN 	HOMELAND SECURITY IMPLEMENTS THE "FREEDOM-FILE." Building on the Patriot Act, the FBI assembles data - from INS files to parking tickets to tax records - in the "Freedom-File." The operating algorithm flags individuals on a yellow/orange/red system to identify security risks
IRAN BACKS DOWN FROM ITS NUKES PLAN.	RUSSIA AND CHINA SIGN MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING TO DEVELOP A NUCLEAR RESPONSE TO THE "STAR WARS" MISSILE DEFENSE SHIELD.	FEDERAL TAXES HIT LOWEST LEVELS SINCE 19TH CENTURY.
FIRST PLAYOFFS OF THE INTERNATIONAL BASEBALL LEAGUE. AOL/Time Warner launches the IBL to help unify the world through sport. "Americans never really embraced the World Cup," explains league commissioner Jeb Bush.	"HOT SUMMER" BRINGS WAVE OF LOW-LEVEL TERROR ATTACKS AGAINST U.S.	THE NEW WORLD TRADE TOWERS OPEN FOR BUSINESS.

In the end, the Resistance was known for one thing – they simply would not participate. Not in the 24-hour economy, the 60-hour workweek, the flag-waving parades, the media manias, the permanent fear, the cheers for the troops. And then there was their mark, of course. It crept into daily life, until it became a constant reminder that these really were bleak times. Until one day you no longer knew who was in control . . . the empire that was everywhere . . . or this invisible revolution.